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IMPACT OF MODERNIZATION IN THE PHILIPPINES*

GEORGE M. GUTHRIE
The Pennsylvania State University

FRANK LYNCH, S.J.
Ateneo de Manila

First Technical Report
January 1967

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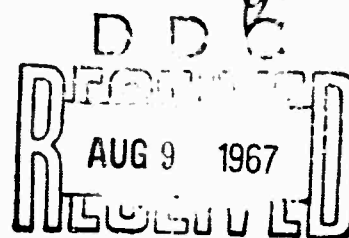
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*This Research was supported by the Advanced Research Projects Agency under ARPA Order No. 855, under the Office of Naval Research Contract No. Nonr 656 (37). The project was administered jointly by The Pennsylvania State University, United States of America, and the Ateneo de Manila, Republic of the Philippines, with George M. Guthrie and Frank Lynch as co-directors.

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ABSTRACT

The Ateneo-Penn State Basic Research Program (1966-69) is the joint enterprise of two universities, one American and the other Philippine. A three-year, seven-project venture such as this affords participants the opportunity to contribute to the search for more satisfactory formulas for international organized research. In view of this, some special administrative arrangements are being experimented with, one feature worthy of mention being the voice in policy decisions given to the nationals in whose country the research is being conducted. Involved in the three projects presently underway are the Program's two co-directors, two additional project directors, and a staff of 19.

Project One aims primarily to discover ways in which Tagalog mother-tongue speakers in and near the Greater Manila area differ in thought categories. This knowledge of differences is sought as a means to improving the effectiveness of communications between Filipinos who are well educated and those who are not, and between the city Filipinos and their rural counterparts. Research to date has been preliminary in nature, but has resulted in a number of findings regarding the cognitive domains of disease and kinship, and in the development of productive techniques for the next phase of the study.

Project Two is a study of the gaps and tensions existing between traditional Filipino conceptions of certain rights and obligations and what the modern Philippine legal code has to say about the same questions. The report given here focuses on some ideas of Tagalog mother-tongue speakers about the use of space, illustrating some of the conflicts that may arise in this period of change.

Project Three studies a Philippine town in transition. Estancia, Iloilo, a booming fishing center on the northeast coast of Panay, central Philippines, seems to manifest in microcosmic scale at least some of the changes presently underway at the national level. More certainly than that, however, it is typical of many other such towns of the Philippines--and probably of southeast Asia--where the residents are moving with dramatic swiftness toward new conceptions and styles of living identified more with modern than traditional Asia.

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INTRODUCTION

George M. Guthrie and Frank Lynch

Technical reports ordinarily restrict themselves to what progress has been made in the substantive research for which a project was funded. In this first report on the Ateneo-Penn State Basic Research Program it seems justifiable, however, to expand the usual scope of such a document and say something, not only about the purposes of the entire program of which the projects reported here are a part, but also about the organizational arrangements that support that program. The latter extension is justified by the likelihood that any relatively productive, mutually acceptable instrument for binational research is newsworthy.

Program goals

The Ateneo-Penn State Basic Research Program, a three-year undertaking begun July 1, 1966, addresses itself to

the general question of the impact of modernization in (and on) the Philippines. It was designed as a way to bring together and support for a limited time--generally 15 months--the interests, talents, and energies of a number of American and Filipino social scientists who were already committed to seeking an understanding of the changes presently underway in the Philippines and other nations of southeast Asia.

Invited to participate in the Program were, aside from the co-directors (Guthrie and Lynch), five other scientists: A. Paul Hare (sociology, Haverford), Lee Sechrest (psychology, Northwestern), William F. Nydegger (anthropology, Penn State), Richard L. Stone (anthropology, Hawaii), and David L. Szanton (anthropology, Chicago). Each prospective project director was invited to submit a design for his own project, the only requirement being that it should promise to shed some light on the forces and processes of social and cultural change presently at work in the Philippines and southeast Asia.

More particularly, the research was to be such as would describe some aspect of the Philippines undergoing change, develop and test hypotheses to account for what was happening, and devise and evaluate methods and techniques of research

suitable for the study of change not only in the Philippines but in its neighbor nations. While assuring their colleagues freedom to follow their own paths within these general prescriptions, the program co-directors, psychologist Guthrie and anthropologist Lynch, took responsibility for such integrative summaries or suggestions as might be called for.

In briefest form, the projects submitted and approved may be labeled as follows:

<u>No.</u>	<u>Director</u>	<u>Title</u>
1	Lynch	Cognitive mapping in the Tagalog area
2	Stone	Legal concepts: folk and official
3	Szanton	Iloilo town in transition
4	Guthrie	Changing values and motives
5	Hare	Changes in group structures and decision making
6	Nydegger	Iloko barrio in transition
7	Sechrest	Changes in the aiding response

In this first technical report, only the first three projects will be featured, since only they were begun during the period under review (July 1 to December 31, 1966). Projects Four

and Five are scheduled for 1967-68, and Six and Seven for 1968-69.

Funding and Control

The funds supporting this research derive from the Advanced Research Projects Agency of the United States Department of Defense. Administration of the funds is entrusted to the Office of Naval Research, with which The Pennsylvania State University has the prime contract for the performance of the research envisioned by the program. The Ateneo de Manila, in turn, has a subcontract with The Pennsylvania State University for its part in the joint enterprise, called the Ateneo-Penn State Basic Research Program.

Participants in the Program, whether Americans or Filipinos, have the assurances that should accompany and support any basic research; namely, freedom to publish the source of their funds, freedom to investigate any aspect they desire of the phenomena under study, and freedom to publish whatever findings they make.

There is an added arrangement, however, which is worthy of mention, especially in view of the widespread interest

these days in finding suitable formulas for international cooperation in academic research.

The organization appointed by the Ateneo de Manila to implement its part in the Program is the Ateneo's Institute of Philippine Culture, the university's arm for organized social science research. In the university structure, the IPC, as it is called, is governed by a Policy Committee which reports to the Vice President for Academic Affairs. Members of the Committee include, besides the director of the IPC and the treasurer and academic vice president of the Ateneo, the chairmen of the six social science departments (economics, history, languages and linguistics, political science, psychology, and sociology-anthropology). This Committee, a voting majority of whom are Filipinos, determines in effect the Ateneo's response to any problems that may arise in the fulfillment of the research contract.

Two particular problems, while not foreseen as likely to arise, were nonetheless specifically provided for. Reference is to the possibility that a research topic or approach chosen by one of the Ateneo-Penn State scientists might offend responsible Filipinos to the extent that a continuation of the project, at least in its offensive form, might injure Philippine-American relations. A similar difficulty would be unacceptable public behavior

on the part of Program personnel.

By the terms of the subcontract, the IPC Policy Committee has the right to suggest changes if the implementation of research, as planned, is in its judgment likely to endanger good Philippine-American relations. If the project director persists in his original plan, and the Committee feels the issue warrants such action, it may withdraw its sponsorship, notifying Penn State to that effect. It may take the same action if the repeated public behavior of a project scientist, even as a private person, constitutes a considerable threat to good Philippine-American relations. This is a concession of power to the Committee admittedly far greater than one would ordinarily expect, but Penn State and the Ateneo are agreed that the circumstances surrounding international organized research today are not ordinary. Especially when one participant nation is footing most of the bills, while the other is the host, one does well to grant the man of the house that measure of control that befits him. The Ateneo-Penn State Program operates under a formula that hopefully will guarantee that control.

Reports

Monthly activities reports are sent to Penn State by the Philippine office of the Program, while Guthrie makes a quarterly letter report to the Advanced Research Projects Agency. Every six months a technical report is called for, and this is the Program's first.

Actually, there are three reports here, and they differ from one another in what they try to say. For Project One, Lynch and Himes give an account of what they and their staff accomplished in the first six months or so, with ample illustration of the kinds of thing they found. They show how their research in cognitive mapping is related to the problem of effective communication between national sectors that are modernizing at different speeds. After stating their project goals in this light, they then give a brief, inevitably unsatisfactory, explanation of ethnosience, in which their project is rooted. Finally, they tell what they have done and discovered in the cognitive domains of disease and kinship.

Reporting on Project Two, Stone takes quite a different tack. While he uses material from his research to support the main message of his paper, his contribution is less a report than

a display of first fruits. For this reason, perhaps, Stone's essay makes solidly interesting reading indeed. It is clear that, even at this early stage of his study, Stone is at grips with a basic issue bound to embarrass the progress of any developing nation, namely, the conflict between traditional, often subconscious, postulates and assumptions, and what the nation's new legal code says about the same thing.

Szanton's report on Project Three falls somewhere between the other two essays. Largely introductory, partly pragmatic and partly substantive, his contribution acquaints us with the site of his research, the town of Estancia, Iloilo. The significance of understanding Estancia will not be lost on those who see in burgeoning centers such as this both a laboratory and a pilot plant. In Estancia one can almost see the forces of social, cultural, and economic change at work; one also has hopes of learning enough about the process to be able to stimulate or encourage similar change elsewhere.

Staff as of December 31, 1966

If one were to judge merely from the reports that follow, one might not realize the staffing that supports the

Ateneo-Penn State Program. For the record, then, the following were the active Program personnel as of the end of the period under review in this report.

Program director: George M. Guthrie, Ph.D.
Program co-director: Frank Lynch, Ph.D.

Central (Program level) staff:

Isilagos C. Montemayor, administrative assistant
Rosalita M. Jesswani, secretary
Fermina T. Dumaul, typist
Martha M. Woodhams, publications editor
Ethel W. Lapitan, assistant editor
Edgardo C. Diaz, clerk-storekeeper
Teofilo M. Catubig, driver-mechanic
Eleno M. Balaba, bookkeeper

Project One (Cognitive mapping study)

Frank Lynch, Ph.D., director
Ronald S. Himes, M.A., Cand. Ph.D., deputy-director
María A. González, M.A., research associate
Rosalinda Garcia, M.A., R.N., research associate
Federico P. Montenegro, A.B., research assistant
Violeta Peralta, A.B., research assistant
Luzbella C. Ramirez, B.S., research assistant

Project Two (Legal concepts study)

Richard L. Stone, M.A., Cand. Ph.D., director
Jorge Juco, A.B., Ll.B., research associate
Raul Cabrera, A.B., research associate
Jose Nadonga, A.B., research assistant
Felicisima Mallillin, clerk-typist

Project Three (Iloilo transition study)

David L. Szanton, M.A., Cand. Ph.D., director
Cristina B. Szanton, A.B., research associate

To the project directors and staff on whom the success
of the Program so obviously depends, we know our indebtedness.
To the administrative officers of Penn State and the Ateneo,
many thanks and maraming salamat.

COGNITIVE MAPPING IN THE TAGALOG AREA

First interim report covering the period July 1 to December 31, 1966

Frank Lynch and Ronald S. Himes

Introduction

A basic and recurrent problem plagues all nations to some degree, regardless of where they place on a scale of socio-economic development. This is the difficulty encountered when the more highly developed, or modernized, sectors of the nation try to communicate with and influence those areas and people that trail them in this regard. Sometimes the problem is called a communications gap between the elite and the masses, at other times a gap between metropolitan centers and the countryside. In either case, people who have taken on at least some of the ideas, attitudes, norms, aims, and motivations appropriate for modern living and who are committed--by profession, job specification, or personal inclination--to propagating this way of life, often find themselves balked and blocked in their attempts to achieve this end. And so the nation which could

otherwise move briskly to a new level of socio-cultural integration crawls slowly and uncertainly toward its formally stated goals. Without effective communication between those who lead and those who follow, this turtle-paced, stop-and-go progression is inevitable.

To achieve a desirable level of effectiveness in communication will be difficult in any nation. In a democratic country, however, where communication from the center or the top must both inform and persuade, the task is especially challenging. For in this case, effective communication supposes an understanding not only of how the senders and receivers think, but also of the values most likely to attract their free and willing cooperation.

Project goals

This project addresses itself to the problem of effective communication between Filipinos who are well educated and those who are not, and between city Filipinos and their rural counterparts. More particularly, the project focuses on one basic aspect of that problem, namely, how the several kinds of Filipinos think about, or categorize, certain very important portions of

reality. Furthermore, the project concerns itself only with Tagalog-speaking Filipinos in and near Greater Manila. Finally, only the cognitive domains of kinship, disease, ownership, and causality will be explored.

The principal project goal will have been achieved if answers are found for these questions:

1. Do Tagalog Filipinos differ among themselves in their thinking about these domains?
2. If they do, in what way do they differ?
3. Are these differences associated with identifiable background characteristics?
4. What are these background characteristics?

It is intended, moreover, that in the course of answering these questions about the Tagalog area, the investigators will develop techniques likely to be valid and reliable--after more or less modification--for other areas of the Philippines and abroad.

A further consideration, beyond that of cognitive categories, is the concern of an appended subproject. The investigators believe that the way people categorize kinsmen is likely to show significant correlation with the way they interact with them. This

hypothesis needs proving, of course, but the trouble involved in testing it seems well worth it.

If we can discover patterned differences in the way Tagalog speakers associate with kinsmen, on the one hand, and non-kinsmen, on the other, we shall have cleared the way for more accurate prediction of any group activity envisioned by communications programs. If these patterned interaction choices can be related to the ways in which people mentally divide their social world, we would stand a fair chance of predicting some important aspects of interaction behavior from the showings people made in our various questions and tests about kinship categories.¹

This study of the use of kinsmen, a subproject of the cognitive mapping inquiry, hopes to answer at least these questions:

¹Fortunately, we have an abundance of interaction data that were gathered in Canaman, Camarines Sur, in 1957. Although the 116 respondents reporting their interaction choices were Bikol mother-tongue speakers, the interaction situations they were asked about are commonplace in the Tagalog area as well, so that any hypotheses developed from the Canaman data will be readily testable in and around Greater Manila.

1. Do Tagalog Filipinos differ among themselves in the ways they interact with kinsmen and non-kinsmen?
2. If they do, what patterned differences are there?
3. Are these differences associated with identifiable background characteristics?
4. What are these background characteristics?
5. What relation, if any, is there between ways of categorizing kinsmen and ways of interacting with them?

As in the major project, so in the use of kinsmen sub-project, it is expected that techniques will be developed for the expeditious gathering of valid and reliable interaction data in any language area of the Philippines or abroad.

Academic orientation

Kluckhohn and Murray wrote (1959:53) that "Every man is in certain respects (a) like all other men, (b) like some other men, (c) like no other man." The uniqueness of the individual referred to in the last phrase, is a special concern of clinical psychology and psychiatry. It is not the concern of

the present investigators. Our interest is rather in the first two phrases, which remind us of ways in which people are alike. However, where Kluckhohn and Murray spoke primarily of the world at large, we speak of a single speech community. We hypothesize that every Tagalog mother-tongue speaker is like all other such speakers at least insofar as they share that language. We believe, moreover, that in some ways these speakers differ among themselves, and may be grouped and divided according to shared and unshared ways of thinking about and using portions of the world around them. To this extent at least, they may constitute sub-cultures within the Tagalog mother-tongue area in and around Greater Manila.

There is nothing arcane, novel, or profound in this observation. Most men accept the fact that it takes all kinds of people to make a language group as well as a world. It is not the existence of intragroup differences that is at issue; this is confirmed by common experience. It is rather the nature and patterning of those differences that we seek, and the kinds of people who show them.

To illuminate and identify these differences primarily at the cultural, but also at the subcultural, level, anthropologists

with psychological and linguistic affinities have recently developed an approach which bears the name ethnoscience. An understanding of this development will take the reader a long way toward an understanding of the disciplinary roots of this research.

Two happenings in the mid-50's led to a re-appraisal of several of anthropology's most widely accepted procedures. First, it was noted that two or more accounts of a single society, studied within the same time span by equally proficient professionals, might not be in agreement. This cast grave doubt on the objectivity of an ethnographic routine of long standing. Second, it was observed that an analytical framework derived from the study of one society might not be applicable to data from another. This made it seem that "cross-cultural comparison" might be an empty, if catchy, phrase.

The first point, non-correspondence of descriptive accounts, was illustrated by the publication in 1956 of Ward Goodenough's "Residence Rules," in which discrepancies between the accounts of two competent ethnographers were attributed to a classificatory bias on the part of both and to a gap between the statement of cultural "rules" and adequate sociometric evidence supporting them. In short, ethnographers had become accustomed to a set of regularly occurring cultural categories (such as four

or five post-marital residence choices) and new information was routinely fitted into these categories on the basis of lightly investigated impressions.

Several young, primarily Yale-trained anthropologists followed Goodenough's pioneer movement away from the preconceived notions of what a society ought to be like. They looked instead to developments in the methodologically more enlightened field of linguistics, the primary rule of which was that every language (or dialect) must be described and analyzed in terms of itself and as a discrete entity. Reinterpreted, this meant that an ethnographer should describe and analyze a culture (or sub-culture), not in the framework of absolute and possibly extraneous cultural categories, but rather as a unique entity comprehensible in itself, a structure of interrelated knowledge and consequent behavior.

Linguists describe and analyze a language starting at the lowest level (phonetics) and progress upward through the linguistic hierarchy by investigating the systematic variations in significant sounds (phonemics), the patterning of sounds into meaningful units (morphemics), and the distribution of these units into meaningful utterances (syntax). At each level of the study the procedures are so defined that an independent student, following

them, can replicate the original findings. The result of such an investigation is a grammar of the language.

Following an analogous procedure, the "ethnoscience" begins at the lowest level with discrete bits of data provided by an informant about himself and the persons, things, and items in the world around him. Advancing through the cultural hierarchy, the ethnographer isolates the significant knowledge and behavior units, describing and analyzing the variations. The patterning of these units constitutes the "rules" or "principles," by which the culture-bearer acquires knowledge and acts appropriately. The distribution of these principles throughout the community and throughout the individual's life cycle constitutes cognition, the patterning of perception of, knowledge about, and ways of behaving toward the physical, social and ideological world. The sum total of this investigation is an ethnography, a grammar of the culture under study. Defined in this way, culture is the cumulation of an individual's or a community's knowledge, and the patterned behavior which that knowledge may lead to. Again, the ethnographer's procedures at each level of the investigation are so defined as to enable duplication of the findings and to reveal any subjective bias.

Description of so rigorous a nature is an exhaustive and time-consuming task. In view of this, proponents of ethnoscience have concentrated on a few "cognitive domains," or culturally defined bodies of knowledge and associated behavior, such as kinship terminology, color categories, agriculture, and disease concepts. The acceptable techniques used for eliciting data pertinent to a cognitive domain progress from open-ended interview (to establish the relevance of the domain), to the testing of verbal responses for appropriateness, to the construction of frames for deriving the taxonomic structure of the responses, back to open-ended interview to establish the validity of the description. These procedures, chiefly derived from descriptive linguistics, have been succinctly defined and illustrated by Charles Frake (1962).

The analytical technique most widely used at the lower level, corresponding to that of phonemics in linguistics, is componential analysis. By this means the anthropologist seeks to define terms, or linguistic responses, in relation to each other by those features of inclusion and contrast which respectively group them together within a hierarchy of meaning and separate them from each other when they are culturally appropriate alternatives to a given stimulus. Other analytical techniques

used at this level and higher levels of investigation have been adapted from psychology through the mediation of psycholinguistics: listing of terms in free recall, sorting tests, semantic differential, and triads tests (see especially Osgood 1964 and Romney and D'Andrade 1964). The application of such techniques to a discrete body of data for the purpose of arriving at succinct generalized statements which are valid for these data and comparable with other such statements is termed "formal semantic analysis."

It must be emphasized that cross-cultural comparison, or even cross-subcultural comparison, can be valid only at the level of the principles governing the data and not at the level of the data themselves (Goodenough 1956:37). This is in consonance with the methodology of linguistics. Linguists, except for students of lexico-statistics, do not compare concrete data from two or more languages. Efforts at comparison are aimed at the more abstract level of structure, which can be handled only in terms of a general theory, such as tagmemics, immediate constituent theory, or transformation theory. Many now feel this to be the proper procedure in anthropology as well.

A question of considerable controversy at present is just what can be claimed for the results of a formal semantic

analysis. There are some, especially Anthony F. C. Wallace (1965), who maintain that "psychological validity" is the desired end. That is, the criteria which the ethnographer uses to order the data should be the same criteria which the native uses. The argument against the possibility of attaining psychological validity has been proposed most vocally by R. Burling (1964, 1965). Others hold that formal semantic analysis does not need so ephemeral a goal to justify itself (Hammer 1966).

Psychological validity may not be attainable, but "structural validity" is. That is to say, although we may never be certain that we have discovered and described the criteria which the native uses to order his universe, we can organize the same data by our own criteria in such a way that we can predict behavior with a certain degree of accuracy and, if we wish, behave in a way socially acceptable to our informants.

In this research we are limiting ourselves to the more conservative search for structural validity in cognitive domains. We seek to determine and describe principles by which informants may order their world of concepts, regardless of how they actually do order it.

Research Findings to Date

As an initial step, partly to hasten the orientation of the staff members to the backgrounds of the research they were to do, a basic bibliography of over 500 items was compiled. The most important of the entries were read, abstracted, and discussed by the staff, while the abstracts themselves were typed on the Unisort analysis cards for easy coding and retrieval.

By early January, 1967, completed abstracts numbered 91, classified as follows:

I. General: cognition and ethnoscience	25
II. General: ethnography	3
III. Disease and medicine	43
IV. Kinship	15
V. Property, ownership, and land	5

Substantive research was begun within the first month of the project's existence, moreover. The domains of disease and kinship were examined first, with some preparatory steps also taken in the subproject on the use of kinsmen.

The cognitive domain of disease

Investigation of the disease domain was the responsibility primarily of Rosalinda Garcia whose credentials for this task

included both the M. A. in anthropology, an R. N. , and considerable hospital experience in both the United States and the Philippines. Helping Garcia were Luzbella Ramirez and Federico Montenegro, research assistants.

The purpose of Garcia's research was twofold; namely, to develop techniques for eliciting disease categories and conceptions, and to suggest some first hypotheses regarding background characteristics of people who differ significantly in how they think about disease.

The informants with whom Garcia began were relatives and neighbors in her part of Malate, Manila. Here she worked with people chosen on grounds of their accessibility and the range of familiarity with traditional and modern conceptions of disease they were likely to manifest. She took her own grandmother as a starting point and moved on through a succession of informants to herbalists and registered nurses. Once she had established productive interviewing techniques and some basic findings, she interviewed a sample of students, professionals, and lower class housewives of suburban Manila. In all, she and her assistants spoke at length with 43 informants, recording no further interviews when it seemed that additional informants added little or nothing new to what had been learned from earlier participants.

Informants were always permitted to choose the language of interview and to control it throughout. This resulted in some interviews being exclusively in Tagalog, others in English, and still others partly in one language and partly in the other. In eliciting classifications of disease concepts, free-recall and open-ended interviewing were employed (see, for example, the skin disease schedule in Appendix B to this paper, page 64).

Findings made to date concern either conceptions of disease in themselves or the relation between particular ideas and the background characteristics of informants who expressed them. Under the first heading the following points are worthy of special mention: the incomplete congruence of the cognitive domain of "disease" (English) and sakit (Tagalog), the names of diseases most commonly recalled, and ways in which informants grouped, interrelated, and explained various diseases.

The American-English domain of "disease" differs significantly from the Tagalog domain called sakit, the latter being less restrictive in scope than the former. Sakit includes, for instance, not only what English speakers would call sicknesses, but also "pain." A practical conclusion from this finding is the care one must take to know the language or languages used in each interview, since the categories elicited may be expected

to differ according to the medium of communication employed. It is also clear that we will do well to discover how the two domains, disease and sakít, are bounded by the criteria that define their content, and how the criteria themselves differ from one cognition-language set to another.

As regards the latter question, one answer already suggests itself: a specific sakít, except when labeled by a Spanish or English term which has no Tagalog counterpart, is defined and recognized as a symptom or syndrome. An example might be taón, translated here as "congenital cyanosis." The term taón may refer to the appearance presented by a newborn infant who is discolored, having great difficulty in breathing, and is near death. In this sense it closely approximates the American English phrase "blue baby," which may cover a wide variety of visible, audible conditions yet still be thought of as a specific disorder in the folk medicine of America.

The diseases recalled by the first 20 informants totaled 188 in all, with the individual range from 7 to 60 and the median just 18.5. Appendix A to this paper (page 61) lists those diseases mentioned by more than one informant, in the order of the total frequency of occurrence. When 23 informants were interviewed just on the subject of skin diseases, or sakít sa balát, 56 terms

were elicited, but here the range was from 4 to 21 and the median, 10 (see Appendix C, page 66). There appears to be greater agreement among respondents regarding the subdomain of skin disease than about the inclusive domain of all disease. An illustrative taxonomic hierarchy, acceptable to 20 informants, is shown in Figure 1.

Informants interviewed only about skin diseases were asked to sort the terms they had recalled into groups of terms which "seem to belong together" (see Appendix B, page 64). Their reasons for the groupings were then elicited, and another sort attempted. From the various sorts each informant made, and the explanations given for them, it appears that the following were the most common ways in which informants saw diseases as similar to one another:

1. In cause (e. g. , "lack of something"; init ang pamúnu-lán, 'heat is the origin');
2. In site of pain or discomfort ("all in the middle part of the body, neck to hips"; lahát sa stomach, 'all in the stomach');
3. In commonness ("fever is present in all"; "usually have them when you are young");
4. In areal distribution ("locally and internationally prevalent");

SAKÍT SA BALÁT 'skin disease'					
BUNGANG ARAW 'prickly heat'	BUKOL 'swelling'				
	MAGÂ 'swelling without content'		BUKOL 'swelling with content'		
	KULEBRA 'erisypelas'		MAY MATA 'with eyes'	WALÁNG MATÁ 'without eyes'	
	PAGÓNG 'round like a turtle'	PIGSÂ 'boil'		GRANO 'infected pimple'	
	AHAS 'elongated like a snake'			BAGÂ 'swelling on a woman's breast; cause unspecified'	TUMOR 'swelling on a woman's breast due to trauma'

Figure 1. Taxonomic hierarchy of "skin disease" (sakít sa balát) categories acceptable to 20 Tagalog-speaking informants from the Greater Manila area.

5. In physiological effects ("affects the blood circulation");
6. In seriousness ("very serious"; "cannot be cured";
hindf dilikado, 'not serious').

Certain diseases were grouped together because one of them was seen as leading to the other. Following up on this method of sort, the investigators asked informants to assign numbers to successive stages of the course taken in such a case, No. 1 being the first manifestation of disorder, and so on. This resulted in lists like the following (which is from one such informant):

1. High fever (40 degrees centigrade) with extreme headache;
2. Tipos (typhoid);
3. Meningitis;
4. Common insanity.

Correlations of grouping patterns with the informants' background characteristics have not been attempted, since this is reserved for a later stage of the research. However--and this is an important preliminary finding--a clear correlation seems to exist between recalling some disease names in English and invoking germs, or mikrobyo, as causal agents. English-speaking informants tended to ascribe some diseases to specific

microorganisms, such as "spirochites," and "viruses," or to "obstructions" affecting normal physiological processes. Those who recalled disease terms only in Tagalog, however, tended to ascribe diseases to environmental conditions (e. g., singaw ng panahón, 'something released from the atmosphere because of seasonal changes'), or to conditions within the body (e. g., marumí ang dugó, 'the blood is dirty'). The correlation of language of recall with causative factors cited can be made in a simple table (20 informants):

Language of recall	Causative factors cited	
	Germes; others	No germes; others
English or English and Tagalog	12	1
Tagalog alone	1	6
Total	13	7

Among the etiologic factors classified as "others" in the above table are these:

1. Lumalabas na lamang, 'just appear';
2. Singaw ng panahón, 'something released from the atmosphere because of seasonal changes';

3. Singáw ng katawán, 'something released from the body';
4. Similya ng pamilya, 'heredity';
5. Puyat, 'irregular sleeping hours';
6. Marumí ang baiát, 'dirty skin';
7. Init ng panahón, 'seasonal heat';
8. "Part of growing up";
9. Pawis na natutuyo, 'perspiration that dries on the skin';
10. Pasmá, 'exposure to alternating heat and cold';
11. Lamíg, 'coldness';
12. Dugóng napasma, 'blood affected by pasma.'

In summary, then, during the period under review research on the domain of disease did not proceed beyond the pre-test stage. However, certain findings were made, among them the following:

1. The categories called "disease" in American English and sakit in Tagalog are not congruent. The latter is a more inclusive category than the former.
2. Informants named seven to 60 disease terms and from four to 21 skin disease terms. The medians were 18.5 and 10 respectively.
3. Informants tended to group diseases according to one or more of seven rationales; namely, cause, site of pain, commonness, areal distribution, physiological effects, seriousness, and interrelatedness.

4. Informants who recall disease names only in Tagalog tend not to speak of germs, or mikrobyo, as causes of any disease.
5. Informants mention a variety of etiologic factors, many of them reflective of a folk-medical mentality.

In the pre-test stage of the research, Garcia succeeded in developing a productive interviewing procedure, which will soon be used on a wider and representative sample of Tagalog mother-tongue speakers. Further analysis of the data on hand is now needed, to discover those patterned manners of naming, grouping, and explaining diseases which most clearly discriminate informants of one description from those of another.

The cognitive domain of kinship

Work done to date in the domain of kinship is of two kinds: (1) devising and testing techniques for the eliciting of Tagalog kinship terminology and terminology behavior, and (2) preparation in final form of genealogies taken from 116 Bikol mother-tongue speakers, which data will be utilized in the use of kinsmen sub-project.

Eliciting techniques and initial findings

Eliciting techniques. One of the earliest techniques tried was a listing of kin terms in free recall (see Appendix D, page 68). The results expected from this were (a) a familiarity with Tagalog kin terms and their variations, and an awareness of (b) the frequency of occurrence of specific terms, and (c) the saliency of terms in the order of recall. Knowledge of kin terms is easily obtained by interviewing informants from Manila and various parts of the Tagalog region. However, tabulations of frequency of occurrence and saliency of recall are of limited application, given the variations in kinship terms within the Tagalog speech area. At least at this stage of the research, valid generalizations are difficult.

We were confronted initially with a problem of semantic usage because we had assumed that kamag-anak was a cover term roughly equivalent to "kinsman." The omission of affinal and nuclear-family terms from listings of kamag-anak indicated that our assumption was not entirely correct. Gonzalez worked with 20 informants, all unmarried college students who listed Tagalog as their mother-tongue, to determine how best to phrase our questions. When asked if there was a Tagalog word used to

refer to relatives in general, all 20 respondents replied that there was: kamag-anak or kamag-anakan. When asked the people subsumed under the term, all mentioned terms applicable to consanguineal kinsmen; no affinal or ritual kin terms were given. Asked if the "family" (parents, siblings, and children) were included in kamag-anak, 18 informants answered negatively. Of the other two, one explained that no general term applies to the family, specific terms being used instead; the other held that, while the family was distinguished from more distant kin, they were all considered kamag-anak in contexts such as a "family reunion." The 18 respondents answering negatively to the question of inclusion gave the terms pamilya (16) and kaanak (2) as equivalent to "family" and distinct from "relative."

Seven informants stated that affinal kinsmen were included in kamag-anak, although none had been listed, while the remaining 13 took the opposite view. All agreed that there is no Tagalog term for affines other than specific terms.

It appears, then, that three or more separable segments constitute the kin domain. Eliciting of terms appropriate to pamilya and to kamag-anak demonstrated some overlapping, but generally the results were disappointing. A pot-pourri question,

asking for terms applicable to family members, kamag-anak, and "in-laws," proved much more productive.² For aside from terms relative to the three kinship segments of which we were now aware, ritual kin terms were also volunteered (ninong, ninang, inaánák, kumpadre, kumadre, kinákapatid). Moreover, some surprising responses--the request was for kin terms--were kaibigan ('friend'), querida ('mistress'), "boyfriend," "girlfriend," kabarkada ('gang or clique co-member'). Often the term kamag-anak was listed, but with the restricted meaning of "recognized, distant kinsman whose relationship to me I cannot trace."

These additional terms took us a step deeper into the problem of defining the taxonomic structure of the categories in question. We were eliciting, apparently, not only kin terms in the strict sense, but also "relationship" terms in a broader sense. In pursuit of this possibility, we tested a new technique, based on completion of the sentence: "X is a kind of Y" (Ang ----- ay isang uri ng -----), the interviewer to supply a reference term in the first blank. The results of this technique with one

² Whenever questioning techniques were changed, we used new informants so as to avoid the learning bias.

informant are given in Figure 2. The same informant, at another time, isolated the problem for us: terms for ritual kinsmen are grouped together--"they are related to me, but they are not relatives." This explanation was given in English, but in Tagalog, it is less self-contradictory: "they are people who have a relationship (kaugnayan) to me, but they are not my kamag-anak." Thus, there is a class of people whom I may consider "people to whom I am related in some way" (taong may kaugnayan sa akin), and into this class of people fall family members (pamilya, kaanak, or mag-anak), relatives (kamag-anak), acquaintances (kakilala), and an indefinite number of others.

This technique of filling blanks within a standard frame proved unproductive with most informants, who felt "forced" and restricted. The satisfactory data derived from the responses of some informants, however, compelled us to seek the same kind of information by other means.

A technique used early in the research was a sorting test. Informants were asked to sort the kin terms they had recalled into groups of terms "which seem to belong together." The reasons for this sorting were elicited, then another sort of the same terms was attempted if the informant readily thought of some other criteria as a sorting basis. The same technique was used

T A O 'people'									
TAONG MAY KAUGNAYAN 'people with a relationship'									
KABIG- AN 'friend'	DAHIL SA BENYAG 'because of baptism'	KAMAG-ANAK 'relative'	MIYEMBRO NG PAMILYA 'family member'						
				MACU- LANG 'parent'	KA- PATID 'sibling'				
		SA DUGO 'by blood'	SA PAG-AASAWA 'by marriage'	ASA	ASAWA				
				INÁ	ANÁK				
				APÓ	ATE				
				LOLA	KUYA				
				LOLO	INÁ				
				PAMANGKÍN	AMÁ				
				TIYA	BALAE				
				TIYO	HUPAG				
				APÓ	BILÁS				
				LOLA	BAYÁW				
				KINÁKAPATID					
				INÁANÁK					
				NINANG					
				NINONG					
				KUMADRE					
				KUMPADRE					

Figure 2. One informant's responses to the completion exercise.

with a furnished list of 26 terms (including ritual kin terms), to afford some degree of comparability from one informant to another.

The sorting test as an eliciting technique is highly productive and is readily understood and executed by informants. Repetition of the sorting, however, is often hesitant or impossible.

An adaptation of this test is more successful, and it solves our problem of semantic overlap as well. After the informant has sorted the standard set of terms, he is asked to divide the groupings into consecutively smaller piles, if this is possible. Returning to the first sort, the informant is asked to combine the groups into consecutively larger piles, if it is appropriate, until all the terms are included in one large grouping. The reasons for the various combinations and divisions are elicited, along with names for the groups if such names exist. We designate this series of procedures, together with the charting of the informant's responses, the "multi-level sorting test." One informant's answers are diagrammed in Figure 3.

The cooperation of informants in performing the multi-level sort is highly satisfactory. Moreover, it appears from the data collected so far that significant differences occur among informants with regard to the kinds of groupings they

make. Some informants, such as the one who provided the data for Figure 3, use more or less abstract criteria such as generation, lineality, or consanguinity, whereas others apparently use much more subjective criteria (affect, residence) and have specific persons in mind while performing the sort. We are still trying to devise ways to substantiate this impression. An example of the latter type of data is given in Figure 4.

One attempt to establish the subjectivity of sorting criteria has had encouraging results. The informant is asked to provide the names of kinsmen that come to mind when he hears a reference kin term. The terms used are those from the furnished list. These names are listed by the interviewer together with a notation of the precise relationship between the kinsman and the informant. The names are written on cards which are then sorted by the informant in the same manner as the furnished kin terms (multi-level). Comparison of the sorts of kin terms and the names of kinsmen indicate that the criteria used by an informant are substantially the same in both instances. The reasons for the groupings, however, are often quite different, the informants frequently indicating that particular kinsmen are grouped together because they are all very close to him,

live near at hand, are in the province, and the like. Productive though it is, this technique tends to tire both the informant and the interviewer. For this reason we hope to devise other and more convenient means for gathering the same kind of information.

Consanguineal kin terms. The consanguineal terms given in Appendix E (page 72) represent a compromise among possible alternatives. They are not necessarily the most frequently occurring forms, but generally they are the most widely recognized. In this section and the two to follow the frequencies refer to a sample of 23 unmarried college students, between 19 and 22 years of age. By and large, the terms are characteristic of the Central Tagalog area (Manila and Bulacan).

In the grandparental generation the pair lolo-lola appeared most frequently (19 times; N = 23); one informant gave lolo, but not lola. The following alternatives were also listed by informants from the same group: lalong-lelang, 'grandfather' and 'grandmother,' (2); impo', 'grandmother' (4); and nuno', 'grandfather' (1). Apó, 'grandchild,' was listed five times, with no variations. One informant gave apó sa tuhod, 'great-grandchild,' as well.

Variations in terminology for the parental generation are more common: tatay-nanay (13); papa-mama (4); "father"-
"mother" (2); amá-iná (1); tatang-nanang (1); tatay-ináy (1); and
"daddy"-ma (1). Arák, 'child,' occurs five times without
variations.

The variants applicable to parents' siblings and their spouses occur with the following frequencies: tiyo-tiya (14);
tito-tita (3); tiyo-tita (2); tito-tiya (1); tata-nana (1); amáng-
ináng (1). One informant gave tiyo, 'uncle'; tata, 'uncle--father's
side'; and tito, 'uncle--mother's side.' Six informants listed
pamangkín, 'nephew, niece,' and no variations are discernible.

Cousin terminology occurred as follows: pinsan (17);
pinsang-buô, 'first cousin' (2); laka (2); kuyang (2); diko (2);
ate (2); kuya (2); tito (1); pinsang-makalawá, 'second cousin' (1);
pinsan sa labás, 'illegitimate cousin' (1); and pinsan sa tuhod (?)
(1).

There is evidence of some overlapping in the terminology applicable to siblings, especially elder siblings, and cousins. The following forms were given by the 23 informants: kapatíd (11), kuya (10), ate (10), ditse (3), diko (2), sangko (2), sanse (2), manong (2), manang (2), bunsô (2), utol (1), dersis (1), kong (1), "brother," (1), and "sister" (1).

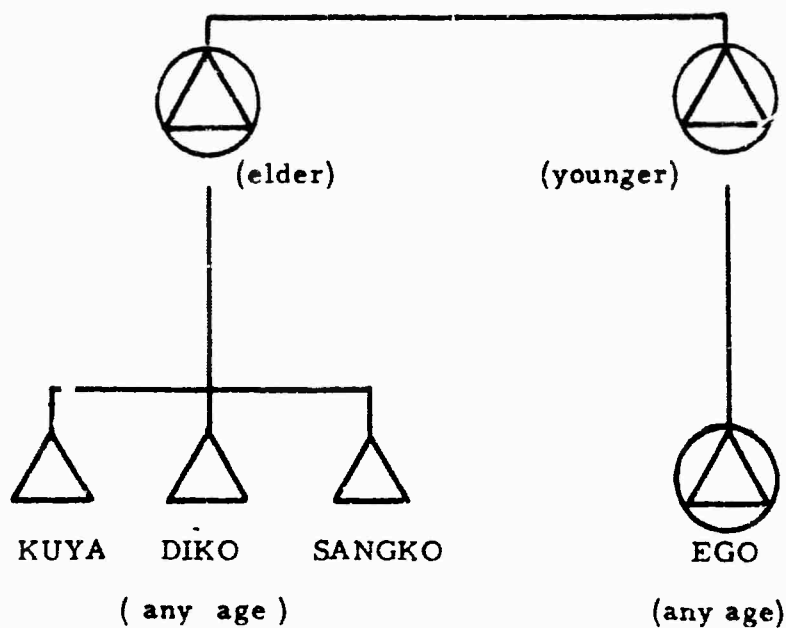
Aside from differences resulting from the choice of language (English vs. Tagalog) or the use of slang (dersis is a syllabic metathesis of sister), there are also significant terminological differences from one Tagalog-speaking region to another. Bulacan is widely known for conserving the "traditional" (Chinese-influenced) sibling terminology. There the six elder-sibling terms retain their original values. These terms are used in reference and address: kuya, 'eldest brother'; diko, 'second eldest brother'; sangko, 'third eldest brother'; ate, 'eldest sister'; ditse, 'second eldest sister'; and sanse or siyanse, 'third eldest sister.'

In address, these terms can be used only by a sibling younger than the one addressed. For example, in the sibling set which, in order of birth, is male-female-male-next youngest-next youngest-youngest, the female will not address the second-born male by the term diko, although anyone younger than the latter will do so. In reference, however, she may say "si Pedro" or "si diko" when addressing the younger ones and referring to this second-born male.

Until approximately 15 years ago, the system still obtained in at least one town (Marilao) of Bulacan, wherein first cousins were addressed by the elder sibling terms if they were

the children of the elder sibling in the parent's sibling set. Figure 5 provides an example. This practice is extant in parts of Laguna and Batangas provinces. Otherwise, elder-sibling terms may be applied to first cousins if the latter are older than Ego. In parts of Rizal province there is an awareness of the two systems, and a choice is made between them. Informants in Pililla, Rizal, gave the term matandâ sa dugô ('older by blood') to the system in which the parents' age relative to each other was the determining factor of who should be called "elder sibling." When the determinant is the age of the cousins themselves, relative to each other, it is matandâ sa baníg ('older on the sleeping mat'). In Morong, Rizal, the terms *diko*, *sangko*, *ditse*, and *sanse* are not used. *Kuya* and *ate*, although occasionally used, are considered new terms. In most families, according to one informant, the reference term kakâ is used for elder siblings of both sexes. In addressing elder siblings and cousins, the form kâ plus name or nickname occurs. Generally, when *ate* and *kuya*, or kakâ, are used, but the other elder-sibling terms are not, *ate* and *kuya* (or kakâ) refer to all siblings older than Ego, regardless of their birth order.

Affinal kin terms. The affinal terms which are most commonly used in Manila and the Tagalog-speaking provinces



Parent's elder sibling's son - KUYA (or DIKO or SANGKO)

Parent's younger sibling's child - first name or nickname

Figure 5. First cousin address terminology (traditional system).

are included in Appendix E (page 72). The terms listed by 23 unmarried college students are the following: bayáw (16), asawa (13), hipag (8), bilás (5), biyenán (5), manugang (4), balae (4), maybahay (1), and watót, 'wife' (1). Maybahay, 'house-owner,' is a common euphemism by which a man refers to his wife. The woman refers to her husband as tao, 'person.' Watót ('wife') is a slang expression.

Generally, the rule appears to hold throughout most of the Tagalog region that Ego addresses his affinal kinsmen in the same way as his spouse does. Younger siblings of the spouse, and persons of a lower generation, are addressed by name or nickname. The spouse's elder siblings are addressed by the proper elder-sibling term. Parents-in-law are called by the terms for father and mother. On the other hand, the balae relationship is usually expressed, in address, by the ritual kin terms kumpadre (kumpare, pare) and kumadre (kumare, mare).

Eastern Bulacan and western Rizal offer two additional kin terms used both in reference and address: insó and siyaho. Insó is equivalent to 'elder brother's wife,' and siyaho to 'elder sister's husband.' These structurally elder siblings-in-law, who may in fact be younger than Ego, refer to their spouse's younger siblings as bayáw or hipag and address them by name.

Ritual kin terms. Ritual terms are a part of the compadrazgo, or co-parenthood, system as it is practiced in the Philippines. Among the Tagalogs the system is based primarily on the relationships recognized among persons participating in a particular ceremony such as baptism, confirmation, or matrimony.³ Four of the terms are derived from their Spanish equivalents, but two of them have Tagalog correspondents which occur infrequently. The terms are as follows:

ninong (< padrino, Sp., 'godfather') or ináamá (< amá, Tg., 'father'), 'godfather';

ninang (< madrina, Sp., 'godmother') or iníiná (< iná, Tg., 'mother'), 'godmother';

ináanak (< anak, Tg., 'child'), 'godchild';

kumpadre or pare (< compadre, Sp., 'co-father'), 'co-father';

kumadre or mare (< comadre, Sp., 'co-mother'), 'co-mother';

kináapatíd (< kapatíd, Tg., 'sibling'), 'god-sibling.'

A diagram of the relationships created through ritual kinship is given in Figure 6. For an analysis of the rights and duties inherent in ritual kinship, and the motives for establishing

³For an interesting Ilocano variation see Scheans (1966).

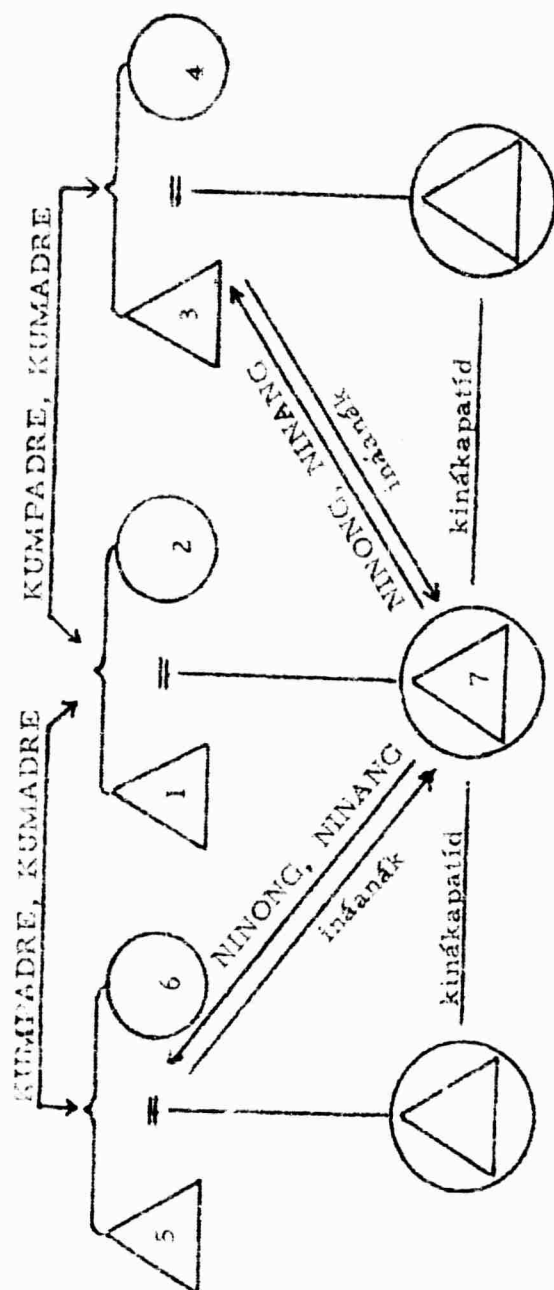


Figure 6. Ritual kinship terminology of reference. Persons 3 and 6 are the godparents (or sponsors) of 7 in either of three ceremonies: baptism, confirmation, or matrimony. Terms in upper-case are used in address as well; otherwise, the first name is used.

a kinship relation with a non-kinsman, see Arce (1961), Mintz and Wolf (1950), and Fox (1956).

The frequency with which 23 college students recalled different ritual kin terms is this: *ninong* (5), *ninang* (5), *kum-padre* (4), *kumadre* (4), *inaánák* (2), and *kinákapatíd* (1). It should be kept in mind that the question made no reference to ritual kin terms, but asked merely for terms applicable to family members, *kamag-anak*, and affinal kinsmen.

In the Southern Tagalog region, *ninang* and *ninong* are used most often for godparents or sponsors in baptism and confirmation; sponsors in matrimony are *amáng-kasál* and *ináng-kasál*. The reciprocal is either *inaánák* or *anák sa kasál*. In Bataan, the pattern is extended: *amáng-binyág*, 'godfather in baptism'; *ináng-kumpíl*, 'godmother in confirmation,' and so on.

The kinship system of referential terminology varies considerably within the Tagalog region. There appears to be a more-or-less standard Tagalog (or Philippine) base with differing degrees of Chinese influence. This contribution of southern or southeastern Chinese terms is sometimes recognized, as in the elder-sibling terms in Bulacan. Most often it is not recognized, and it is often denied. Laktaw (1914) acknowledges

the following terms as Chinese and as having currency among the meestizos chinos: impó, 'grandmother';⁴ inkong, 'grandfather'; imâ, 'mother'; insó, 'sister-in-law'; siaho, 'brother-in-law'; kaka (no glottal stop), 'uncle,' 'aunt'; kuya, koya, 'eldest brother'; diko, 'second-born brother'; sanko, 'third-born brother'; ati, 'eldest sister'; ditse, 'second-born sister'; and sanse, 'third-born sister.'

Laktaw enters the terms tatay, 'father,' and nanay, 'mother' as "local de Manila, que va tomando carta de naturaleza en provincias" (local to Manila, and being adopted in the provinces).

The Spanish derivatives tiyo and tiya, or tito and tita (uncle and aunt, respectively), are not listed by Laktaw, nor does he list the terms lolo and lola or lelong and lelang (grandfather and grandmother). These are popularly thought to be Spanish derivatives, but Manuel (1948) attributes them to Chinese. Manuel further lists siko, 'fourth-born brother,' and sitse, 'fourth-born sister,' but he notes that they have very limited currency outside the Chinese community.

⁴The English terms are translations of the original Spanish.

The study of terminological variations from one locale to another does not fall within the scope of this report. It is our problem, however, to ensure comparability of data from two or more informants who use different sets of terms. This is solved by eliciting the preferred terms in free recall and having the informant perform a single sort of these terms. The results of this sort are then compared with those of the informant's multi-level sort of the furnished terms. So far, there does not appear to be any significant difference between sorts performed by the same informant. An example of this comparability is given in Appendix F (page 75).

On the other hand, informants seem to differ significantly in the criteria they use for sorting. The most basic difference can be seen as consisting of differing degrees of subjectivity or objectivity, an index of which must be devised and tested. We have, in other words, taken a step toward answering the first two questions we asked ourselves; namely, Do Tagalog Filipinos differ among themselves in their thinking about kinship, and, if they do, in what do they differ? The third and fourth questions, concerning the association of these differences with identifiable background characteristics, we have not even begun to consider in systematic fashion.

The use of kinsmen subproject

In November 1966, when the preliminary study of disease concepts had drawn to a close, some staff members were available for a further development of the kinship study. Attention was given to this task in the last two months of the period under review in this report.

Purpose and plan. The aim of this subproject was, first of all, to develop some hypotheses about patterned differences among informants in the degree to which they interacted with kinsmen, on the one hand, and non-kinsmen, on the other. To do this we proposed to examine an available, relatively extensive corpus of interaction data in which both informants and interactors were identified by many different variables, including any kinship tie between them. Although the data at hand were not from the Tagalog area, but from a poblacion (Canaman, Camarines Sur) in the Bikol area, they would nonetheless serve as a basis for hypotheses to be tested later in the vicinity of Greater Manila. Moreover, since the informants lived in a relatively closed social unit, namely, a poblacion of about 2,000 people, and since the interaction data we would use concerned local situations generally begun and ended within this

community, we felt justified in considering the social world of our informants to be populated only by Canaman residents, at least for purposes of developing the hypotheses we desired.

To construct these hypotheses properly required that we know not only how each informant thought he was related to the interactors he listed, but the relationship he perceived with all other Canaman residents as well. Put another way, the problem was to know, for every one of our 116 informants, the names and total number of the Canaman residents who belonged in each of the four cells in this two-by-two matrix:

Canaman residents other than informant		
Action relationship to informant	Static relationship to informant	
	Kinsmen (K)	Non-kinsmen (Nk)
Interactors (I)	I-K	I-Nk
Non-interactors (Ni)	Ni-K	Ni-Nk

As sources for the information we needed there were the following documents: a complete household census of Canaman, listing every man, woman, and child resident there at the time of the interaction study; genealogies giving the complete kindred of recall elicited from each informant in the study; lists of their

ritual kinsmen, also from these informants; interaction protocols concerning about 25 major interaction situations (as locally perceived and identified), in which the informant gave not only the names of the people he interacted with, but whether or not he considered them kinsmen.

How these various documents will enable us to fill the cells in our matrix is easily shown.

1. Cell I-K (interactors who are kinsmen)

Included here are the names of all Canaman residents appearing in the informant's interaction protocols provided the individual interactor was identified there as a kinsman of some kind, or appeared in the informant's genealogy or list of ritual kinsmen.

2. Cell I-Nk (interactors who are non-kinsmen)

Included here are the names of all Canaman residents appearing in the informant's interaction protocols provided the individual interactor was neither identified as a kinsman there, nor listed in the informant's genealogy or list of ritual kinsmen.

3. Cell Ni-K (non-interactors who are kinsmen)

Included here are the names of all Canaman residents appearing in the informant's genealogy and list of ritual kinsmen but not in his interaction protocols.

4. Cell Ni-Nk (non-interactors who are non-kinsmen)

Included here are the names of all Canaman residents appearing in the poblacion census

except those in the informant's interaction protocols, genealogy, and list of ritual kinsmen.

Because of the richness of the Canaman data we will be in a position to say much more about an informant's interaction patterns than is contained in the kinsmen/non-kinsmen dichotomy. The possibilities, some of which we shall exploit, can be estimated from the fact that these variables are known for every resident of Canaman: name, sex, age, place of residence, social class, civil status, and (if ever married) names of spouse(s) and children. Moreover, every interactor or kinsmen mentioned by an informant is identified by generation and age relative to the informant.

Findings regarding genealogies. Although the genealogies will serve primarily an instrumental function in the subproject, enabling us to identify members of the informant's kindred of recall, some observations are in order about the content of the documents themselves. In particular, some generalizations are possible about the average number of people recalled by different kinds of informant.

1. On the average size of the kindred of recall, by informant's sex and age (all informants married):

Informant's age	Male	Female	Both sexes
Under 20 years	---- (0)*	72.0 (1)	72.0 (1)
20 - 40 years	104.6 (33)	97.7 (37)	100.5 (70)
Over 40 years	128.7 (23)	105.8 (18)	118.7 (41)
T o t a l	114.5 (56)	99.8 (56)	107.2 (112)

*Number in parentheses is respondent total.

2. On the average number of secondary and more distant kinsmen recalled, related through one parent or another, by informant's parents' place of origin (Canaman or not):

Place of origin of informant's parents	N	Parent linking informant	
		Father	Mother
Father from Canaman	11	26.4	20.0
Mother from Canaman	11	29.7	33.4
Both from Canaman	62	78.7*	37.5*
Neither from Canaman	28	32.7**	49.2**

*Without two extreme cases, averages would be 37.4 (Fa) and 37.5 (Mo).

**Without three extreme cases, averages would be 31.4 (Fa) and 32.9 (Mo).

In the next period (January 1 to June 30, 1967) we hope to complete the preparation of all the documents needed for this subproject and move on to the construction of those hypotheses indicated by the Canaman data.

Summary of all findings to date

With few exceptions, the work in Project One has not progressed beyond the preliminary stage. Nonetheless, we have gathered considerable data, developed satisfactory techniques, and trained a competent staff for the tasks that lie ahead. Given high priority in the next six months will be the analysis of our data and the consequent preparation of descriptive and explanatory hypotheses derived from them.

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APPENDIX A

Table 1. Most frequently recalled disease terms, in language of recall, grouped by frequency of occurrence. (Number of informants = 20)

Frequency	Name (as recalled)	English name
Eleven	Lagnát	Fever
Ten	T.B.	
Nine	Beke	Mumps
Eight	Asthma	
Seven	Bulutong Sipón	Smallpox Cold
Six	Appendicitis Cancer Cholera Ubó Ulcer	Cough
Five	Chicken pox Hika Manás Measles Rayuma	Asthma Beriberi Rheumatism
Four	Allergy Bosyo Dysentery Galís Ketong Malaria Pigsá Sakít sa pusò Smallpox	Goiter Scabies Leprosy Boil Heart disease

Table 1 (continued)

Frequency	Name (as recalled)	English name
Four	Tigdás Trangkaso	Measles Influenza
Three	Alipungá An-án Arthritis Athlete's foot Boil Bukol Buwá Dermatitis Diarrhea Fever Flu Gastro enteritis Gonorrhea Lagnát sa sipón Leukemia Polio Rheumatism Ringworm Sakit sa ulo Syphilis Toothache	Athlete's foot Ringworm (<i>Tinea flava</i>) Swelling (with pus) Prolapse of uterus Cold-induced fever Headache
Two	Anemia Bagá Beriberi Bulutong tubig Buni Cold Eczema Goiter Headache High blood pressure Hypertension Impatso	Swelling on breast Chicken pox Ringworm (<i>Tinea saginata</i>) Indigestion

Table 1 (continued)

Frequency	Name (as recalled)	English name
Two	Kuliti	Sty
	Lagnát lakí	"Spring fever"
	Lagnát sa piláy	Fever induced by sprain
	Leprosy	
	Mumps	
	Pasma	Condition resulting from exposure to alternating heat and cold
	Pulmonya	Pneumonia
	Sakit sa ngipin	Toothache
	Sakit sa tiyán	Stomach ache
	Singaw	Exuded scent
	Sprain	
	Taón, taól	Congenital cyanosis
	Tukdol	Stiff neck

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS ON SKIN DISEASES

A. PART ONE: SORTING PROCEDURES

1. Recall as many skin diseases as you can and mention each to me.

Isipin ninyo ang lahat na sakit sa balat (ng buong katawan) at isa-isa ninyong sabihin sa akin.

2. Sort these slips of paper into piles or groupings which "seem to belong together." Sort them into as many or as few groupings as you like.

Pagsama-samahin ninyo ang mga papel na inaakala ninyong dapat ipagsama-sama. Maaari kayong gumawa ng kahit na ilang grupo o tumpok ng papel na gusto ninyong gawin, kahit na marami o kaunti.

3. What is the reason or idea that you had when you arranged each pile or group?

Ibigay ang inyong katuwiran kung bakit ninyo ipinagsama-sama ang mga papel na iyan sa bawat tumpok o grupo.

4. Do you have another way of sorting these slips?

If yes, repeat questions 2 and 3.

Mayroon pa ba kayong ibang paraan sa pagsama-sama ng mga papel na ito?

B. PART TWO (AFTER SORTING PROCEDURES ARE COMPLETED)

1. Give the location or part of the body particular to this type of skin disease.

Saán-saáng bahagi o parte ng katawán nakikita o napápansín ang sakit na ito?

2. Give a description of this disease.

Anú-anó pò ang ~~napápansín~~ o nararamdaman sa sakit na itó?

3. What causes this disease?

Anú-anó pò ang mga dahilan ng sakit na itó?

4. What are the medicines or what is the therapy used?

Anú-anó pò ang mga gamót na alam ninyóng ginagamit sa sakit na itó?

5. Whom do you consult for this disease?

Sinu-sino ang mga manggagamot na inyóng kinukunsulta o sirasanggung sa sakit na itó?

APPENDIX C

Table 2. Most frequently recalled skin disease terms, in language of recall, grouped by frequency of occurrence. (Number of informants = 23)

Frequency	Name (as recalled)	English name
21	Galís	Scabies
20	Buni	Ringworm
17	Tagihawat	Pimple
16	An-án	Tinea flava
14	Eczema	Eczema
12	Pigsá	Boil
11	Bungang-araw	Prickly heat
10	Alipungá	Athlete's foot
Seven	Bukol	Swelling with pus
	Bulutong (totoó)	Smallpox
	Buluto ug tubig	Chicken pox
	Tigdás (tikdás, tipdás)	Measles
Six	Pekas	Freckles
Five	Butlíg	Postules
	Ketong, lepra	Leprosy
Four	Allergy	Allergy
	Balakubak	Dandruff
	Galís aso	"Dog itch," a kind of scabies

Table 2 (continued)

Frequency	Name (as recalled)	English name
Four	Kulebra Pantál Tagulabáy	Erisypelas Welt Hives
Three	Agihap Sugat	A kind of scabies Wound; lesion

APPENDIX D

PROCEDURES DEvised FOR ELICITING DATA ON THE COGNITIVE DOMAIN OF KINSHIP

A. RECALL AND SORTING OF REFERENCE KIN TERMS

1. Recall as many reference kin terms as you can and mention each term to me. These reference kin terms should be the terms that you use to describe the members of your pamilya o mag-anak, your kamag-anakan including those who become your relatives through marriage, or pag-aasawa. It should be within this context: if I were to ask you, "Who is this person," your answer would be, "Siyá ay ang _____ ko"

Tandaán ninyó ang lahat ng mga pangalang ginagamit ni para sa mga miyembro o kasapi ng inyóng pamilya o mag-anak, ang inyóng kamag-anak, pati' inyóng mga taong may kaugnayan o relasyón sa inyó dahil sa pag-aasawa. Halimbawa, kung itatanóng ko sa inyó, "Sino ba iyan," ang sagót ninyó ay, "Siyá ay ang _____ ko."

2. Sort these kin terms/slips of paper into piles or groupings which "seem to belong together." Sort them into as many or as few groupings as you like.

Pagsama-samahin ninyó ang mga pangalan/papél na inakala ninyóng dapat mag-sama-sama. Maaari ninyóng ayusin ang mga pangalan/papél sa kahit iláng pag-aayos na gusto ninyó.

3. What is the reason or idea that you had when you arranged each pile or group?

Anó pô ang katuwiran kung bakit ninyó pinagsama-sama ng ganyán ang mga pangalan/papél?

B. SORTING OF FURNISHED SET OF KIN TERMS

1. These cards contain Tagalog reference terms for people which designate relationship. Group these cards/terms which "seem to belong together." You may make as many or as few groupings as you like and you may place as many or as few cards in each grouping as you like.

Nakasulat sa mga papél na itó ang mga pangalan na ginagamit para sa mga taong may kaugnayan o relasyón sa inyó. Pagsama-samahin ninyó ang mga pangalan/papél na sa pag-aakala o pag-iisip ninyó ay dapat magsama-sama. Maaaring ayusin ang mga itó sa kahit iláng tumpók na gusto ninyó. Maaari rin ninyóng pagsamahin ang iláng pangalan/papél.

2. What is the reason or idea that you had when you were grouping or sorting the cards?

Anó po ang katuwiran kung bakit ninyó pinagsama-sama ng ganyán ang mga pangalan/papél?

C. MULTI-LEVEL SORTING OF FURNISHED KIN TERMS

1. These cards contain Tagalog reference terms for people which designate relationship. Group those cards/terms which "seem to belong together." You may make as many or as few groupings as you like and you may place as many or as few cards in each grouping as you like.

Nakasulat sa mga papél na itó ang mga pangalan na ginagamit para sa mga taong may kaugnayan o relasyón sa inyó. Pagsama-samahin ninyó ang mga pangalan/papél na sa pag-aakala o pag-iisip ninyó ay dapat magsama-sama. Maaaring ayusin ang mga itó sa kahit iláng tumpók na gusto ninyó. Maaari rin ninyóng pagsamahin ang iláng pangalan/papél.

2. Examine each group carefully and separate a new group or groups which can be made from each.

Pakitingnán ninyó ang bawat tumpók at ihiwaláy ninyó iyóng indakala ninyóng maaari pang gawíng isáng tumpók din.

[The groups are subdivided until the informant cannot or will not break them down further.]

3. Combine the groups which "seem to belong together."

Pag-isá-isahín ninyó ang mga tumpók na sa inyóng palagáy ay maaaring magsama-sama.

4. What is the reason or idea that you had when you arranged each pile or group?

Anó pô ang katuwiran kung bakít ninyó pinagsama-sama ng ganyán ang mga tumpók?

5. If we put all these names together, on what basis may that be done? What name(s) or word(s) would you use to describe this group?

Maaari bang pagsama-samahin natin ang lahat ng mga itó? Bakít namán kayâ maaaring gawín natin iyon? Anóng pangalan o mga pangalan, salitâ o mga salitâ ang maaaring itawag sa tumpók na iyan?

D. RECALL AND SORTING OF KINSMEN OR KIN NAMES

1. I will show you each of these cards one at a time. Would you please give me the complete baptismal name of the first person whom you remember as soon as you see the card. You may give one name only, as when the card says iná; or two names, as when the card

says pinsan. Please tell me how you address them, and how each of them is related to you.

Ipakikita kong isá-isá sa inyó ang mga pangalang nakasulat sa mga papél na itó. Maaari pô bang ibigáy ninyó sa akin ang buóng pangalan ng unang taong maaalaala ninyó? pagkakita ninyó sa bawat papél? Pakisabi din ninyo sa akin kung anó ang tawag ninyó sa kaniya, at kung paano kayó naging magkamag-anak.

2. Sort these names into piles or groupings which "seem to belong together." Sort them into as many or as few groupings as you like.

Pagsama-samahin ninyó ang mga pangalang sa pag-akala ninyó ay dapat magsama-sama. Maaari kayó gumawâ ng kahit iláng tumpók.

3. Examine each group carefully and separate a new group or groups which can be made from each.

Pakitingnán ninyó ang bawat tumpók at ihiwaláy ninyó iyóng inakala ninyóng maaari pang gawing isáng tumpók din.

4. Combine the groups which "seem to belong together."

Pag-isá-isahin ninyó ang mga tumpók na sa inyóng palagáy ay maaaring magsama-sama.

5. What is the reason or idea that you had when you arranged each pile or group?

Anó pô ang katuwiran kung bakit ninyó pinagsama-sama ng ganyán ang mga tumpók?

6. If we put all these names together, on what basis may that be done? What name(s) or word(s) would you use to describe this group?

Maaari bang pagsama-samahin natin ang lahat ng pangalang itó? Bakit namán kayâ maaaring gawin natin iyón? Anóng pangalan o mga pangalan, salitâ o mga salitâ ang maaaring itawag sa tumpók na iyán?

APPENDIX E

Table 3. Referential kinship terminology used in the furnished list.

Kin term	English equivalent most commonly suggested by informants	Kinsmen covered by the term
Lolo	'grandfather'	grandfather; grandparent's brother; grandparent's sister's husband
Lola	'grandmother'	grandmother; grandparent's sister; grandparent's brother's wife
Apó	'grandchild'	grandchild; sibling's grandchild; cousin's grandchild; spouse's sibling's grandchild; spouse's cousin's grandchild
Amá	'father'	father
Iná	'mother'	mother
Anák	'son; daughter'	child
Tiyo	'uncle'	parent's brother; parent's sister's husband; parent's male cousin; parent's female cousin's husband
Tiya	'aunt'	parent's sister; parent's brother's wife; parent's female cousin parent's male cousin's wife

Table 3 (continued)

Kin term	English equivalent most commonly suggested by informants	Kinsmen covered by the term
Pamangkfn	'nephew; niece'	sibling's child; cousin's child; spouse's sibling's child; spouse's cousin's child
Pinsan	'cousin'	cousin (indefinite lateral extension)
Kapatíd	'brother; sister'	sibling
Kuya	'elder brother'	elder brother
Ate	'elder sister'	elder sister
Asawa	'husband; wife'	spouse
Biyenán	'mother-in-law; father-in-law'	spouse's parent
Manugang	'son-in-law; daughter-in-law'	child's spouse
Bayâw	'brother-in-law'	spouse's brother; sister's husband
Hipag	'sister-in-law'	spouse's sister; brother's wife
Bilás	'co-brother-in-law'	wife's sister's husband; (sometimes: spouse's sibling's spouse)

Table 3 (continued)

Kin term	English equivalent most commonly suggested by informants	Kinsmen covered by the term
Balae	'co-parent-in-law'	child's spouse's parent
Ninong	'godfather'	godfather; godmother's husband
Ninang	'godmother'	godmother; godfather's wife
Ināanák	'godchild'	godchild; spouse's godchild
Kinákapatid	'godbrother; godsister'	godparent's child; parent's godchild
Kumpadre	'compadre'	child's godfather; child's godmother's husband; godchild's father; spouse's godchild's father
Kumadre	'comadre'	child's godmother; child's godfather's wife; godchild's mother; spouse's godchild's mother

APPENDIX F

Table 4. Sort of terms listed in free recall by one informant with the same informant's sort of the furnished terms.

Sort of terms listed in free recall	Sort of furnished terms (Sort 1)
Pile A	Pile A
ninong	ninong
ninang	ninang
inānāk	inānāk
kinākapatfd	kinākapatfd
kumare	kumadre
kumpare	kumpadre
Pile B	Pile B
manugang	manugang
biyanān	biyenān
bilās	bilās
balae	balae
hipag	hipag
bayāw	bayāw
Pile C	Pile C
ambā (grandfather, great-grandfather)	lolo
pupō (grandmother, great-grandmother)	lola
impō (grandparent)	apō
apō	
apō sa tuhod (great-grandchild)	

Table 4 (continued)

Sort of terms listed in free recall	Sort of furnished terms (Sort 1)
Pile D	Pile D
tiyo	tiyo
tiya	tiya
pinsan	
pinsan makalawá (second cousin)	
pinsan makatlo' (third cousin)	
	Pile E
	pinsan
Pile E	Pile F
aná'k	aná'k
batà (children; always pl.)	iná'
iná'g (mother)	amá'
iná'y (mother)	kuya
tatà (father)	ate
itáy (father)	kapatíd
kakà (elder sibling)	asawa
kuya (elder brother)	pamangkín
ate (elder sister)	
kapatíd	
asawa	
maybahay (wife)	
tao (husband)	
pamangkín	
Pile F	
kasintahan (sweetheart)	
kasundô (sweetheart)	
katrato (sweetheart)	
kalaguyô (mistress)	

PRIVATE TRANSITORY OWNERSHIP OF PUBLIC PROPERTY: ONE KEY TO UNDERSTANDING PUBLIC BEHAVIOR

Richard L. Stone

In a series of articles and two books, the anthropologist Hall (1959, 1963, 1964, 1966) has developed a theory of cultural use of space which he terms proxemics. Basically, Hall's theory is this: man has a uniform way of handling distance from his fellows. Furthermore, man's sense of space and distance is not static, but instead, is dynamic because it is related to action--that is, what can be done in a given space--rather than what is seen by passing viewing. Hall (1966:107-8) feels that we should

think of man as surrounded by a series of expanding and contracting fields which provide information of many kinds. . . . We can then begin to learn about human behavior, including personality types. Not only are there extroverts and introverts, authoritarian and egalitarian, Appollonian and Dionysian types and all the other shades and grades of personalities, but each one of us has a number of learned situational personalities. The simplest form of the situational personality is that associated with responses to intimate personal, social, and public transactions.

Most of us are unaware of our structuring of space because it is an unconscious pattern of behavior--undoubtedly deuterio-learned throughout our socialization process. Yet as we come into contact with different cultures, we find ourselves annoyed, irritated, and oftentimes appalled by some aspect of behavior which is somehow different from our own. Being by and large ethnocentered, we gape in amazement at the stupidity with which other cultures handle certain nearly universal situations.

Let us consider an American arriving in the Philippines. One of the major areas of immediately perceived conflict and irritation is that which relates to public and private ownership and use of property--property for purposes of this paper simply being considered as bounded space. A situation exists in the Philippines, which may be termed, for want of a better description, the private. transitory possession (or ownership) of public property. In the West, and embodied in Western law, the concept of public property carries with it a set of attitudes: a sharing of public property; ownership by the public and a concomitant responsibility for upkeep. In the Philippines, the Civil Code and the municipal ordinances are similar in content to those of the United States. But behavior of the public with

regard to public property suggests that public property belongs to no one. Rather the user of public property--public side-walks, public highways, public lands, and perhaps even public political office or position--appears to regard that particular piece of public property, that particular office at the time of use, as his own personal property.

Following are some examples where this conflict occurs.

Use of private and public lands

(1) A squatter, particularly in an urban or suburban area, builds a shanty on a vacant private or public lot which is unfenced and unused. After some months, he is asked to evacuate the premises, either by the owner or by court order. Quite often, he is reluctant to do so, apparently feeling that he has certain rights in the land. It is hypothesized that he sees such a requirement or request as an infringement of his rights, and as an act of cruel injustice.

(2) A sidewalk vendor, despite ordinances to the contrary sets up his shop on the sidewalk of the main thoroughfare in downtown Manila. When either through citizen complaint (rare) or city-government inspired activity, he is forced to

close shop and evacuate his spot on the sidewalk, his reaction is a muttered "very oppressive, the police." It is hypothesized that he, like the squatter, sees himself as being deprived of his rights, a victim of cruel injustice, by those who have more and could share.

Personal use of public office

(1) If public political or appointive office can be considered in the same frame of reference, one may cite the case of the politician who, once in power, uses political office for private gain. In response to criticism, his answer is "Well, what are we in power for?" indicating clearly that he considers himself (and his group) the owner(s) of the public office at the time.

(2) The concept of public service in government becomes lost as positions on virtually all levels become personal property of the office holders, and where public service as such is rendered only through the use of bribery (commonly known in the Philippines as lagay).

Pedestrian and vehicle behavior

(1) Manila is the only modern city where it is prohibited to park on the side of the road but not in the middle of the busiest streets to change a tire or repair a car. It is only in Manila where you see a bus blocking traffic while it is being repaired by a gang of mechanics from the bus terminal. If they are going to haul parked cars in the wrong place by pulling them to the impounding lot of the MPD why can't they push the stalled cars to the side of the road? (Valencia 1967).

(2) "Nothing short of intensive mass education will suffice to improve the conduct of our drivers," Traffic head Col. Querubin Mabugat said. "I cannot question their ability, for they are one of the world's best. What they simply need is a fundamental education in road courtesy, and the rules and regulations for safe driving.... The driver, however, remains the X-factor in the traffic geometry. What sort of person he is and what he will do once behind the wheel remains a question of utmost importance to the passenger and pedestrian." (Macatuno 1967).

Driving Behavior

For purposes of this paper, let us concentrate on driving behavior, and the use of space by drivers and pedestrians. To the freeway-oriented Westerner, particularly the

American, Manila Traffic is utter chaos, and driving behavior verges on the maniacal. The query "what do you think of our traffic?" elicits such responses as "no courtesy at all"; "absolute maniacs"; "why don't they stay in their own lane?"; "there are no rules; people simply drive where they want to, and pay no attention to anyone else"; and inevitably, "why do they leave their cars parked in the middle of the street?"

All of these responses illustrate the Westerner's perplexity in the face of Manila traffic, but they also indicate a basic misunderstanding of the Filipino driver's use of public space, structuring a distance, and his public personality with regard to public transactions. Manila traffic may appear chaotic, but I maintain there are rules, there is order, and once the Westerner isolates the rules, he can sit back and relax (if he has a driver) or sit up and enjoy the game if he drives himself.

Let us assume, for purposes of illustration, a composite case history, based on three key informants and supplemented by cross-checking with 12 others.

Pablo Sasakyan is 31 years old, a taxi driver in Manila and the suburbs. He drives for a large company which operates about 400 cars, with offices in one of the suburbs north of

Manila. Pablo, who is called Lito by his family and friends, has been driving cab for the same company for six years, although he has been a driver for 12 years, serving his apprenticeship in jeepneys, with time in large trucks and also as a private driver. He earns approximately ₱250-300 a month, his 25 per cent share of the total earnings of his cab during his occupancy of the driver's seat. He drives about 10 1/2 hours daily except Sunday--from about 4:30 p.m. to 4:30 a.m. Lito's take-home pay supports a wife and a family of five children at subsistence level in one room in Tondo. Most of his earnings goes for the bare necessities of life--rent, food, medical expenses--and for education of two of his five children. He must also surrender a portion of his earnings to the Social Security System, to his union, to the company for carrier insurance, and his company charges him ₱15 per month to have his cab washed daily.

He must set aside another portion of his earnings for lagay--a means of fixing any kind of traffic violation (real or imagined) for which he might be stopped in Manila or the surrounding suburbs. Lito does not like lagay, but he knows that it is an integral part of the driving game--a necessary evil if he is to operate successfully in his line of work.

If Lito is typical of his socio-economic class and his occupational group, he will probably reflect the values of the lowland Filipino to a very great extent. Bulatao (1964), Hollnsteiner (1963, 1965), and Lynch (1959, 1962), among others, have discussed the values of the typical lowland Filipino. While there has been a traditional tendency to make a split between the values of the so-called urbanite and the rural Filipino, indications are that many of the traditional values of the rural lowland Filipino still exist in the urban setting.

Lito's first allegiance is to his family, both his immediate family of procreation and surviving members of his family of orientation. He sees himself as a member of specific different segments within the society. As Hollnsteiner (1963:23) notes:

The Filipino sees himself as a member of a group and channels his behavior in terms of that group. If he is to remain part of it, he cannot exhibit independence of it. His first membership is in his kin group, more specifically, his nuclear family. As he grows older, he begins to align himself with members of his peer group, who see themselves as a unit against all other groups of that nature. The price of membership is intense loyalty to that group and its interests, while the benefits are support from other group members. One's interests are the group's interests and vice versa. Hence, if a co-member has been insulted by an outgroup member, it is the ingroup's responsibility to revenge that collective insult.

Loyalty to groups which are further in social distance from the family--the neighborhood, total community, province, linguistic group, nation--decreases in intensity, it appears, in inverse proportion to the size of the group. I would posit that Lito does not really consider himself a member of the Filipino equivalent of "John Q. Public," although he may identify himself as being one of the common tao, a member of the little people ("I am only a poor taxi driver who didn't finish his high school."), as opposed to the more affluent and powerful, the malaking tao (big people). Lito is acquainted with and utilizes all the techniques for getting along with people, particularly his group--pakiki-sama, the go-between, the use of euphemism.

One must add to this sketch two other facets, overlooked by social scientists in the past. First, Lito possesses a bawdy joie de vivre and a true sense of the ridiculous. Lito is able to laugh at himself and members of his group with impunity. He does not like to be made the butt of a joke by an outsider--indeed, this could well lead to violence--but he is genuinely able to find humor, almost serendipitously, in day-to-day situations, and this may well allow him to relieve some of the tension of his economic and social situation through a humorous view of life--

albeit sometimes cynical, sometimes bitter.

The second point is that Lito's view of life, I am becoming more and more convinced, is a conscious view of life as a series of contests (even games) sometimes pleasant, sometimes tedious, more often serious. The important point here is that Lito consciously articulates this view: he is aware that he is involved in many series of contests with other individuals, and approaches these situations as one would approach any game or contest situation--the final result hopefully being to beat the opponent.

His socialization process (see Guthrie and Jacobs 1966) has equipped him with many of the ground rules for the games of later life--predictable patterns for behavior--which undergo modification in some instances, but more frequently remain the same rules operating in different situations.

At this point in the research, we concern ourselves only with the rules of Lito's occupational game--driving a taxi in Manila. Involved within this larger contest are a series of lesser contests (in terms of importance and duration) but together they form the larger game of taxi-driving.

There are a number of set rules which may be applied to the game of taxi-driving. First, the basic set of official

rules (the legal rules) is contained in Republic Act No. 4136 which defines the way in which Lito must drive his taxi while on the highways of the city. Second, there are the rules which his company insists he follow so that his company will not lose money or even its franchise through his violation of the rules. Third, there are those unwritten but nevertheless necessary rules which come into conflict with the statutory, the real versus the ideal. In many instances, Lito will be unable to follow the rules of the first and second sets because the agents of law enforcement, who are in charge of seeing that he complies with the rules of Republic Act No. 4136, have devised rules of their own which run counter to the rules which theoretically, ideally, standardize their behavior.

When Lito starts his maghahanapbuhay (livelihood, or in his case, searching for customers) his main concern is, of course, to obtain as many fares as possible while operating within the rules of the taxi-driving game. He must drive from north of Manila into the heart of the city, arriving in time to pick up the lucrative 5:00-8:00 trade when most people take taxis. As he says, "My business is up to 11, then it becomes very dangerous because you must always be on the lookout for holduppers."

While he is driving in Quezon City, he is fairly scrupulous about remaining on the right of the yellow line that marks off the for-hire vehicles from the "V.I.P." or mayaman lang (rich only) traffic. When he arrives in Manila, however, he surrenders to the pressure of circumstance and violates the city ordinance which forbids the utilization of the left-hand lane by for-hire vehicles.

Lito is an experienced driver and he does not take unnecessary chances. As he says, "I'm afraid of getting a traffic violation, and then you have to make lagay." In this attitude, he may be atypical, since one of his main concerns in the driving game is to be continuously aware of the barumbado (reckless drivers) and of the swapang (greedy) and buwaya (crocodile)--both terms referring to road hogs. He must also be aware of pedestrians who are tangá (stupid), who do not play by the rules.

One sub-game which Lito encounters daily is the pedestrian no-contest syndrome. The situation is this: both vehicle and pedestrian are contesting for a particular piece of space--the driver to continue along the thoroughfare, the pedestrian to get to the other side of the street. If the pedestrian looks both

ways before crossing the street he enters into a conscious contest with the driver of the oncoming vehicle on the right side of the road. If however, he does not look to his left, he denies participation in the contest for valued space and takes possession of it through no contest--a "bye" in the language of tennis.¹ The driver is obliged to stop for the pedestrian, an action he would rarely take if the pedestrian had acknowledged his presence in the street and signalled he was ready to enter into a contest situation for temporary possession of the property. By denying conscious participation in this sumisingit (or conscious contest for acquiring space), the pedestrian has achieved one of the other aims of the driving game--that of ayaw malalamangan (the conscious desire not to be left behind, not to be fooled, not to be taken advantage of; one loose translation of lamangan is "to step on, or to step over. "). Nalalamangan niya siya: "he has one-upped the vehicle driver and put one over on him." This

¹This game must be understood as well in terms of segmentation. Most often, the pedestrian player in the game is a woman--and the contest situation must be seen and understood in terms of equal representation in the contest. Generally speaking, the female in contest with a male driver is quite possibly excused from participation in the game.

attitude of me versus them (my group versus the outsider) is

vividly illustrated in the following excerpt from field notes:

This evening the traffic was extremely heavy in the Ayala area. The driver decided to pass Quiapo because it appeared that traffic was moving steadily there. This was a wise decision until we reached the corner of Raon and Quezon Boulevard where traffic was piled up. To our right was a taxi from the same company. The drivers talked with each other for awhile, and then when traffic began to move, we proceeded side by side until, at one point, a private vehicle was attempting to enter a lane of traffic just ahead of us. If the driver to the right had gone on ahead, we would have been squeezed out of traffic; instead, he pulled to the right, blocking the private vehicle, and turned to us, a smile on his face, and raised his thumb. We proceeded ahead; the private car behind us honking furiously, and the driver of my cab raised his arm in signal of thanks to the other driver. (Conscious group solidarity here--not only same company, same occupation, but also taxi-drivers against the private vehicles.) Later on, we brushed a couple of pedestrians who were jaywalking. I remarked aloud that it was a pretty close call. The driver, a wizened old fellow, turned and smiled and said: When I'm driving here in the city, I drive like that. Because if you don't they will puck you. They look at me, those pedestrians, and they say, Oh, that is only an old man. I will puck him. But me, I am driving here in Manila now for 32 years. I will puck them first. I know how to play the game. If you don't puck them, they will puck you.

Those vehicles whose drivers engage themselves conspicuously in the lamangan syndrome are called pasikat (show-off), and Lito thinks of them as palaging nagmamadali (unable to wait, or always in a hurry). One manifestation of this is the driver who pulls up directly under a stop light, allowing no space for pedestrians to cross the street in front of them. Another manifestation is the driver (generally in a jeepney) who weaves in and out of traffic, nalalamangan niya ang mga ibang tsuper (one-upping the other drivers, or stepping over the other drivers)-- an activity which causes Lito to shout after the one-upping driver: Bakit ha? Meron ka bang dalawang asawa? (Why? Do you have two wives?)²

The basic aspect of the driving game is the contest for public space. It appears, at this stage of the investigation, that Lito feels that the space on which his car is travelling at the moment belongs to him. In other words, he has rights in it as long as his vehicle is on it. Hence, the phenomenon of the stalled

² This appears to be the standard assumption about the man in a hurry. He needs to rush a bit more than his co-drivers because he's supporting two wives.

car in the middle of the busy intersection. The driver sees no need to move it, since it is sitting on space which belongs to him at the time he is on it. This explains in part, I feel, the chaotic traffic situation which the Westerner sees on arrival in Manila. A hand signal does not mean "I am turning right," or "I am turning left," but means "I am taking possession of the adjacent space. It should be considered mine, and my rights in it are to be respected until I vacate--provided, of course, that you do not get it before I do." This follows from the public attitude that public space belongs to no one--therefore, the first to use it has rights in it until he vacates it.

Max Soliven (1967:5), the columnist, calls the situation "anarchy on the road" and writes:

The Italian poet Dante who wrote the "Inferno" was born too soon. Otherwise he would have reserved a special place in hell for some of our bus drivers. Too many of this country's bus jockeys are speed maniacs who imagine themselves running in the Grand Prix. They swerve out of line both on the highway and in the city streets (and the heck with any small vehicles that happen to be in the way). They stop to load and unload passengers in the middle of the street. And when they successfully force someone off the road, they wave goodbye to him with a sarcastic horse-laugh.

Nalainangan na siya niya.

What is important here, and has, I think, been implicit throughout this discussion, is that the average Filipino looks upon and treats moving space precisely the same way as he does stationary space. He behaves in an automobile as he would strolling down the sidewalk. He is at liberty to stop where he pleases, stay as long as he likes, simply because there is no prior claim to that space--no fences, no immediate signs, no one else using it. This type of behavior carries with it certain important implications, particularly if one thinks of the difference between being nudged by 150 pounds moving at five miles per hour, and being nudged by 2,000 pounds moving at 30, 40, 50 miles per hour. One need not dwell on the comparison.

To summarize: Different cultures utilize, structure, and handle space differently. An individual's handling of space is a product of deutero-learning, and is by and large unconscious. The Filipino, in contrast, to the Westerner, uses public space while driving as he would while walking--by taking on rights to it as he moves. He considers that particular spot on which he stands, into which he is moving, as his own personal property,

and therefore he may utilize it as long as necessary. Plug these facts into a conscious game situation, and you have, I feel, a possible answer to Manila driving behavior. Sheer, unadulterated, one-upsmanship, consciously felt, consciously articulated. Nalalamangan, fortunately most of the time with a good-natured smile.

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ESTANCIA, ILOILO: TOWN IN TRANSITION

David L. Szanton

For the past 20 years the problems of economic development and social change in the Philippines have received considerable attention from government agencies, private foundations, and research scholars. In a country emerging from the major destruction caused by World War II and the direct economic and political dominance of the United States, Philippine leaders have tried to shape policies and programs which would lead to the rapid economic development of the country. Given its natural resources and large cadre of trained professionals, this might not seem an insuperable task. Yet by most reasonable standards, though progress has been made, the country's economic development has been markedly slower than hoped or anticipated. Despite the efforts of well-intending individuals and vast amounts of foreign aid and advice, real per capita income has not risen very appreciably above pre-war

levels. Booming residential suburbs near Manila, Cebu, and Davao show there are now more wealthy Filipinos than before, but travel through the provinces or in the city slums indicates that the poor have also multiplied in number. "Objective" indicators point in both directions, but on the whole, outside of certain metropolitan areas, economic growth in the Philippines has been very slow.

The factors contributing to this situation are varied, complex, and controversial. They range from purely technical production problems to an extremely high population growth rate, and from external economic pressures to conservative cultural and structural features internal to Philippine society. Without denying the importance of the former, it is with these latter features--the traditional values and modes of social organization which appear to inhibit economic development, and the forces working against them--that these notes and the outlined research will attempt to deal.

Previous Studies

Since the mid-1950s, social scientists have been concerned with the relations between social organization, social

change, and economic development in the Philippines. Classical and agricultural economists, sociologists and anthropologists, psychologists, and political scientists, geographers and demographers have all contributed to a now substantial literature on the subject. Even so, our understanding of the situation is still inadequate, and our ability to make useful recommendations for development programs is still severely limited.

There are no doubt several reasons for this. Perhaps foremost is that the study of social change and economic development in the non-Western world is still a very new field. Theories or models adequate to describe or predict change in social organizations have not yet reached sufficient sophistication nor taken adequate account of local conditions to permit the framing of sure-fire development programs for particular regions or countries. As in any new field, time and accumulated experience are necessary before we can even ask the most useful questions or, in operational terms, frame the most productive research designs. This has been particularly true of studies of social change in the lowland Philippines, which on the whole have been characterized by concern with minor or secondary phenomena, while the central processes or mechanics of social change in

particular communities have been left largely unexamined.¹

Broadly speaking, five general approaches have been taken to the study of social change in the Philippines. One has been to examine large-scale macro-variables such as national population growth, improved communication networks, an expanding educational system, increasing urbanization and monetization, and government efforts to induce change (Hart 1955; Carroll 1963; Huke 1963; McHale 1964). While often provocative, these macro-change studies rarely come down to the specific interrelations of the variables on the community level or demonstrate their effects on local social or cultural patterns. A new road or higher population density may be presumed to produce social or economic changes, but the necessary preconditions, the processes involved, and the specific forms the changes take in particular communities are usually left unexamined.

¹This is also unquestionably due to the very sketchy nature of our knowledge of "traditional" (i.e., "static") lowland Philippine values and social organization. While many explanatory terms and concepts have been put forward (e.g., social acceptance, hiya, utang na loob, lider, compadrazo, the intermediary), none has been critically examined in more than a few situations. They can at best be regarded as clues and not conclusions concerning patterns of social interaction in the lowlands. For studies of social change they must prove very slippery foundations.

A second approach has been to follow the progress of relatively small technological or governmental innovations (Sycip 1960; Covar 1960; Olivar 1966). While this can be a useful procedure, it demands that the researcher investigate, more carefully than has yet been done, the factors which condition the adoption or rejection of the innovation and its impact on other aspects of technology and on larger social patterns.

A third and very popular setting for discussions of social change in the Philippines has been analyses of the failure of specific attempts at inducing social or technological change (Oren 1958; Pal 1959; Kaut 1960; Collier 1961; Jocano 1963; Hart 1965). These studies often contain interesting after-the-fact theorizing, but by their very choice of data necessarily focus on why change does not take place, rather than on the situations, forms, and processes in which it does.

A fourth group of studies looks not at change directly but at verbally expressed attitudes towards it (Pal 1956, 1957; Oppenfeld 1959; Madigan 1962). These take their cue from anthropologists who have long insisted on the importance of attitudes in affecting the acceptance or rejection of proposed innovations. While this is unquestionably true, attitudes alone are

insufficient to account for events or behavior. Any number of forces may intervene (e.g., lack of resources, social pressures, personal incompetence) and prevent the adoption of an innovation, despite positive attitudes towards it. Likewise, circumstances may force changes despite negative attitudes towards them (Sycip 1960). These studies often seem to overlook this point, mistakenly presenting attitudes as the sole determinants of change.

Finally, the fifth approach has been to start full-scale long term studies of a set of communities. At least three are now under way (Kaut 1963; Sibley 1965a; Jocano 1966). This is undoubtedly an excellent approach, but it will be some time before we have more than preliminary findings (e.g., Sibley 1965b). Furthermore, the communities were chosen at least in part because of their conservative or traditional character--the typical anthropological approach--and not because they were undergoing rapid social or economic change. Thus again the research design and choice of data is less than ideal for telling us more about how economic development or more general social change does take place.

While all of these studies have contributed to our understanding of social change in the Philippines, none attacks the

problem directly. They leave untouched what seems the most productive research strategy--that of empirically examining specific communities which are presently undergoing significant economic development or social changes. Ideally, these changes should have beginnings recent enough so that reliable base-line data is still available in local memories and records. Such communities, though still numerically rare, do exist and should provide models for change in the Philippine setting. They should make explicit the necessary pre-conditions, the role of various types of innovators, and the effects on more conservative individuals and traditional modes of social organization. Communities which are rapidly developing or "modernizing" under their own efforts ought to yield the best clues to the forms and processes of change we may ultimately expect (or encourage) in other more slowly evolving communities.

Indicators of Modernization

With this in mind we developed a research proposal involving investigation of small communities in a region undergoing a transition from traditional subsistence rice cultivation to presumably more modern or economically developed

market-oriented sugar production. Our intention was to study the innovators, those who had shifted to the cash crop sugar, and the conservatives, who had stood by rice, the old subsistence crop. We also expected to examine the effects of the shifts on various aspects of community organization and local values. Finally, we hoped to draw some general conclusions concerning the relationship of economic change or modernization to the larger patterns of rural Philippine society.

However, upon arrival in the field, a brief investigation of the situation made clear that the study as originally planned would not be so fruitful as we expected. There were two reasons for this. First, the decision to shift lands from rice to sugar was being made by very large landholders controlling sometimes hundreds or thousands of hectares, and not by the numerous small-holders we had anticipated. These wealthy landlords could hardly be considered economic "innovators"; long accustomed to working their lands for maximum profit, they had simply shifted to sugar when the market expanded and the price for the commodity rose. They were hardly subsistence farmers shifting for the first time to a cash crop. Second, despite changes in technology and job routine accompanying the shift to sugar, the

basic economic structure of the region remained remarkably intact. The formal relationship between the landlord and the farmer had been altered, for under the rice regime the farmer was likely to be a share tenant (local estimates of share tenancy averaged 75-80 per cent, and may well have been higher), and the introduction of sugar usually made him a piece or wage laborer. Yet this did not change the local economic system, for it left unaltered the basic economic fact of the region--that either as share tenant or wage laborer, the man in the field and his family are almost completely dependent on the landlord for credit to cover the daily costs of existence. Shares of the harvest, or wages earned, go in large part to settle interest-inflated debts. Neither shares nor wages provide enough income to last until the next harvest or payday. There had been a technological change from rice to sugar but no appreciable change or improvement in the economic status or resources of the field hands. They remained in a system of continual indebtedness, or economic--and ultimately political and social--dependence on the landlords for the wherewithal to survive. And short of migration to another region of the country, the farmers appear to have no expectation of escaping the present system. The production of sugar had made some landholders substantially wealthier,

but it had not effectively developed or "modernized" the local economy.

This situation required abandoning the original research design, for it invalidated its underlying assumption. The shift from rice to sugar could no longer be regarded as an index of major change or modernization. While this had seemed plausible at a distant university, brief field work indicated that the changing technology was not due to "innovators," nor had it produced significant changes in the local economy. The original socio-economic pattern of peasant dependency had withstood intact, even over-ridden, the new agricultural technology. Nor were there indications that this would change in the foreseeable future.

Estancia: a developing community

Nonetheless, it was not the basic idea or approach of the research that had been invalidated, but merely the particular setting in which we had expected to carry it out. Thus we decided to reverse our procedure, and instead of depending on a purely technological indicator and its theoretical consequences, we turned to more clearly economic and demographic indices which might suggest significant social changes and economic modernization

in a previously traditional community. Analysis of local statistics, discussions with local businessmen and municipal and provincial officials, and first hand survey work throughout northern Iloilo Province led us to select the coastal fishing town of Estancia, 135 kilometers north of Iloilo City, as the appropriate site for our research.

By many relatively objective indices and by consensus, Estancia appears to be the most rapidly developing municipality in the region--if not the province or the entire island of Panay. The population statistics give some indication of the town's unusually rapid expansion. According to the 1960 Census of the Philippines, the population of the entire municipality was 13,323. This compares with 8,781 for 1948, an increase of 51.7 per cent over 12 years. In comparison, the mean population growth over this same period of time of the four adjacent municipalities, and the mean for all the municipalities in the entire province, was only 15.4 per cent. During this same 12 year period, Iloilo City, the provincial capitol, grew only 37.4 per cent. Estancia's remarkably rapid population growth rate cannot be attributed to disparities in raw birth and death rates, nor to the local availability of land. Already in 1948, Estancia, with 2.75 persons

per hectare, was by a small margin the most densely populated municipality in northern Panay. The provincial mean was 1.34 persons per hectare. By 1960, Estancia's population density had reached 4.17 persons per hectare, while the provincial mean was up to 1.55 persons per hectare, but no other municipality in the region had a density higher than 2.8 persons per hectare. The explanation for this rapid population growth is the town's production and commercial activity which has been drawing in numerous people from other communities and resulting in correspondingly little out-migration to more urban or distant pioneering areas. Whereas other towns in Iloilo province have been marked by heavy flows of population to Mindanao--particularly Cotabato--few residents of Estancia seem inclined in that direction.

The commercial orientation of this rapidly expanding population is also indicated by its heavy concentration in the poblacion and the immediately surrounding barrios. In 1948 some 35 per cent of Estancia's total population resided in the poblacion and the contiguous portions of two barrios. The comparable figure for the other municipalities in the province was about 16 per cent. By 1960, about 40 per cent of Estancia's total population was in its central core area, making it by far the most "urban"

municipality in the region. The comparable figure for the other municipalities was now up to about 17 per cent.

When compared with the adjacent towns, those of northern Panay, or the province of Iloilo as a whole, Estancia appears a rapidly urbanizing municipality. Further, a 1966-67 census currently being conducted by the municipal government, although not yet complete, indicates a continuation of both trends towards population growth and concentration. If we can assume that populations tend to shift according to economic opportunities, Estancia would appear to be offering far more to potential workers than otherwise comparable communities in the province.

Estancia, unlike many of the towns in the area, is a relatively new community. Until the turn of the century it was part of neighboring Balasan and from 1903 to 1919 was an arrabal, or suburb, of that municipality. At the 1918 census, the barrios which compose Estancia today had altogether 3,040 people. By 1935 the population was reported as only 3,083. Nonetheless, even before World War II the fishing industry was active enough to draw Samarenos, Leytenos, Cebuanos, Tagalogs, and Ilocanos, as well as Ilongos from other towns, to settle in Estancia. This widespread attraction has continued, and

today people often speak of the "cosmopolitan" character of the town. In the longer settled communities of the region, the families of the elementary and high school teachers form a stable basis for a middle class and usually meet the demands for local professionals. In Estancia, however, the professionally trained children of local entrepreneurs tend to migrate to the country's urban cultural centers; a very large proportion of the professionals active in the town are from elsewhere, and about a third of the teachers go home every weekend to permanent residences in other municipalities. Estancia's "old established" families cannot yet meet the demands caused by its rapid growth.

Yet another sign of the town's recent expansion is the relatively "pure" Ilongo spoken by its residents. Older, more stably settled towns in the province have developed distinctive dialects or accents, but Estancia is too new a community and too much a mixture for that to have occurred.

The economic base and most powerful attraction of Estancia is the commercial fishing industry. Directly or indirectly it is estimated to account for some 90 per cent of the local labor force. Prior to World War II, the town was known as "The Alaska of the Philippines," because of the abundant fish

which could be caught with simple traps or corrals just off-shore. As a result of very intensive fishing as well as the use of fine-mesh nets and explosives (which became all too familiar during the war), the fish resources immediately surrounding the town have declined considerably.² Nonetheless, despite the increasing difficulty of catching fish in the immediate vicinity of the town, Estancia's role as the commercial marketing center for fish caught in the Visayan Sea and off Palawan has continued to grow since World War II. (Statistics on this matter are unfortunately deceptive, for only the catches of "registered vessels"--those above three tons--are officially recorded. These fish are, however, subject to taxation, and substantial quantities are understood to go unreported. Further, there are several hundred smaller boats whose catches never find their way into official records.)

²Explosives are highly effective in catching fish, but also kill microscopic feed and many fish too small to be landed, rupture any eggs in the vicinity, and destroy the general ecological balance. Shallow water trawling may also have contributed to the decline, for the nets dragging along the bottom scatter eggs and destroy spawning grounds--though some argue it is ultimately beneficial because of the organic matter, food for fishes, that it stirs up from the mud below.

The always larger volume of fish passing through Estancia can be attributed to continually intensified activity, a willingness to fish deeper and more distant waters, and more efficient techniques--larger and more sophisticated fishing boats and the use of explosives no doubt foremost among them. On the other hand, it is also due to the demand from Manila and towns all over the island of Panay for constantly increasing quantities of fresh, dried, and salted fish. While many who sell at the market are locally based, fishermen large and small from other towns of Panay and from Negros, Cebu, and Masbate are always assured of an extremely active market at Estancia every Monday and Tuesday. It is in fact the hub of commercial fish trade north of Iloilo City. Market days are characterized by great bustle and activity, with boxes and baskets of fish being rapidly exchanged by fishermen, "buy-and-sell" middlemen, and large scale commercial dealers from distant towns. Large bulk shipments go direct to dealers in Manila. The market area fills with trucks and buses, while the shore line teems with small craft and large, nearly all transporting fish in one direction or another. Few towns in the province or anywhere on Panay have comparably active and lively markets.

Along with the fish market, general commercial activity has grown over recent years. In 1935 there were twenty commercial enterprises in the town, mostly sari-sari stores. Today, aside from the fishing boat owners, there are some 65 storekeepers carrying both general merchandise and a variety of specialties. Judging from the elaborateness of their residences, these entrepreneurs are earning substantial incomes. Strikingly absent is the economic domination of any one person or small group of individuals. Some people are obviously more wealthy and powerful than others, but there seems always to have been room for new entrepreneurs with skill and drive.

Along with supporting boat crews and owners, suppliers and dealers, the fishing industry is deeply involved in other aspects of the town's economy. Most of the fish sold in the town have already been dried in the sun or salted, but the fishing industry also demands the continuous operation of an ice plant. Its operating capacity of five tons a day is consumed for temporarily storing fresh fish being shipped to Manila and to local markets as well. Plans are taking shape for the construction of a cold storage plant which would allow holding fish while prices are low and selling when the demand increases. A large concrete

pier (shortly to be extended) allows the docking of four scheduled inter-island steamers every week. Aside from their other cargoes, these ships regularly load fresh and dried fish on consignment to merchants in Manila. Beginning in 1967 they will also be loading copper ore from the mines in nearby Pilar, Capiz. The fishing fleet, the port facilities, and the excellent island-protected anchorage provide such a large volume of marine transportation that one of the large oil companies has constructed a bulk oil installation in the town, and negotiations are currently under way for a second.

Estancia is also favored with adequate land transport, for the terminal for the largest bus line on the island of Panay is located in the town. In addition to numerous local jeepneys and buses, buses go west almost hourly to Roxas City and Kalibo, Aklan, and south to Iloilo City. A large sewing machine company has established in Estancia the only distributorship within 35 kilometers, and one sees the machines in operation in tailor shops, private homes, and many of the now innumerable tiny sari-sari stores scattered throughout the town. Weekends and market days draw to the town enough people with extra change in their pockets to support a movie theater four days a

week. Although there is not yet a bank in the town, a rural bank has been approved by the central government and is being established, a Knights of Columbus Credit Union has recently gone into operation, and the Philippine National Bank has lately shown interest in setting up an Estancia branch office.

Estancia is undoubtedly one of the smallest towns in the country with a commercial telegraph station to complement the regular government lines. It is the only town in the region with a year-round NAWASA³ piped water system, supplying the poblacion and several nearby barrios. From 1960 to 1964 the town had an operating electric plant as well, but demand overcame capacity (many people surreptitiously added extra lines and bulbs). As the lights began to flicker and grow dim, people complained, became increasingly dissatisfied with the system, and ultimately refused to pay their bills. Eventually it was abandoned, but negotiations are currently under way for the purchase of the franchise and the establishment of a power plant large enough to serve the town's needs. Hopefully within the year the town will have power again; in the meantime many families have bought private generators.

³ National Waterworks and Sewerage Administration.

By themselves, these features would make Estancia the most rapidly modernizing municipality in the region. And the very near future is likely to bring several more major sources of commercial activity and income. A site has been surveyed and funds appropriated (though not yet released) for an airport with a concrete runway two kilometers from the poblacion. Real estate is already very expensive--the land-short town is nestled between steep hills and the sea. A great deal of private land reclamation has already been carried out, but government funds are expected to become available shortly for a large-scale reclamation project in the shallow waters in front of the town. The local high school of fisheries is soon to be transformed into a college, and a small gold mine is beginning operation in one of the barrios.

Agriculture is the only weak spot in the town's economic outlook. In total area Estancia is the second smallest municipality in the province, with only 3,197 hectares, and most of its 727 hectares of cultivated land are devoted to unirrigated one-crop-a-year lowland paddy rice. The average yield over the past years has fluctuated between 20 and 30 cavans per hectare. There are several moderately large coconut plantations, and a muscovado

mill went into operation in 1966, but the overall economic importance of these concerns is relatively small.

A striking symbol of Estancia's commercial orientation is its abandonment of the traditional town fiesta. No other town in the province has done so. There has been no fiesta for three years, and there are no indications that the custom is to be revived. Residents insist that in past years Estancia's fiestas were always large and well attended. The commonly accepted reason for their discontinuation is that they were becoming too costly. Yet it is clearly not a matter of being unable to afford the expenses of a fiesta, for many towns with much smaller incomes and many fewer wealthy people manage to put on sumptuous affairs. Rather, the individuals in Estancia who used to "sponsor" the fiesta are apparently turning to alternative, more productive and profitable investments. In the past, social display and paying fiesta bills brought considerable prestige, but today there seems to be a shift towards the "rationally" economic. In the values of the townsfolk, money in the bank is beginning to take precedence over conspicuous giving. When as established a traditional social event as the town fiesta has been eliminated on economic grounds, we can safely say that social change and economic modernization

are clearly under way.⁴

Proposed Research into Economic Growth and Social Change in Estancia

Given Estancia's recent and rapid economic expansion we can begin to ask the questions we had originally expected to investigate in the rice-to-sugar transition zone. Who are the initiators--the innovators--who have left traditional subsistence occupations and turned to larger commercial activities? Do they introduce new forms of social organization into the area, or simply extend traditional modes of organization for their new purposes? How extensive is their influence on the local economic system? Do they alter its basic structure, or merely elaborate the periphery? To what extent does the increasing total wealth of the community become distributed to the general populace--or does it all ultimately concentrate in the hands of a small minority? How does an increasingly productive and commercial

⁴The fiesta has suddenly returned entirely at the initiative of Manila Estanciahanons, and has since been transformed by local residents into an "Agro-Industrial Fair."

orientation affect the social, political, and religious values of employees and employers? What precisely has been the role of migration in the town's economic development? How have national and local government programs and policies and the remarkable political stability of the town (the incumbent mayor has been in office now for 20 years) contributed to its growth? Finally, how does Estancia compare on these matters with adjacent towns, both coastal and inland?

These are some of the questions which will be investigated during the next year's research. Hopefully, they will shed light on the processes and forms of economic development and more general social changes which can be expected from Philippine communities as their residents move out of traditional subsistence occupations and begin to take increasing advantage of the various local natural resources. Estancia, as a fishing town, cannot be taken as the "typical" Philippine community, though there are of course many fishing towns with comparable potential scattered all through the archipelago. Nonetheless, its pattern of development is likely to be unique only in that it is one of the first communities that has begun to tap its resources. Economic surveys indicate comparably great agricultural, industrial, and mineral

potential in the other regional towns. Their residents have been somewhat slower in exploiting them, but when they do, the patterns of economic growth and social change are likely to prove similar to those of Estancia. Estancia's experience, when fully documented, may provide some suggestions to help speed the growth of other towns, and perhaps also ways to avoid some of the unhappy side-effects of rapid social change.

Estancia's economy

The initial base for understanding growth and change in Estancia must be a thorough economic history of the town. This will be our first undertaking in the formal conduct of the research. Local statistics are somewhat sketchy and unreliable, and it will require intensive interviews with a very large proportion of the entrepreneurs who have established commercial operations in the town. We will be concerned with discovering the growth pattern of their enterprises, from the initial investments up to the present. In some cases this will take us back before World War II, though most of the local businesses have developed since that time. Some of the specific questions we will be asking are:

1. Business origins

Who founded the business and where are they from?

Estancia poblacion? The barrios? Other Ilongo communities?

Other regions of the Philippines?

What was their educational background?

What were their parents' occupations, and how do their siblings earn their livelihood?

Where did they obtain their initial operating capital?

What previous occupations had they engaged in?

What was their religious background?

2. Business evolution

What are the major products or services sold? How have these changed over time?

What is the extent of local competition and how has it changed with Estancia's growth?

How large a market area do they currently serve, and how has it changed from the past?

To what extent is the business "cushioned" during tight periods by other sources of income, e.g., agriculture, investments, etc. ?

What have been the businesses' good and bad years?

Have any similar businesses failed in recent years? Why?

In what way if any have government programs and policies assisted or impeded business activities?

3. Relations with employees

How many people are employed by the business, and how has this number changed over time?

Are employees salaried, or do they work on a share basis?

How long have the employees been with the business?

Are most employees from the immediate family?

Distant relatives? Local strangers or immigrants?

Have the employees or their parents worked for the parents of the current business owner?

Can and do employees get loans in money or kind from the employer, and do they pay interest?

Have any of the employees left the business to start similar enterprises on their own, in Estancia or elsewhere?

The answer to these questions should give us a picture of the present economic situation in Estancia, and some notion of its development over time. To complete the picture we will take a sample of the economic history, attitudes, and aspirations of local employees, fishermen, farmers, and laborers.

Together, these should illuminate the more general social changes which have been taking place in the town. Hopefully, these questions will also lead to a series of case studies of successful entrepreneurs, local fishermen, and some of the other economic types that may emerge.

Later in the research two presumably side aspects of the local economy will be investigated, as to their intrinsic significance and their contribution to local economic development. One is the unusual proliferation of sari-sari stores mentioned above. It is difficult to imagine that these very small enterprises can bring an appreciable profit to the women who run them. Nonetheless, their numbers around the town are truly impressive. It is at least possible that the social functions of these stores outweigh their economic functions; for while working men and idlers generally gather at tuba stands for conversation and conviviality, women seem to exchange much of their gossip at the local sari-sari store. However, in the light of the general commercial orientation of the town, and especially of its women, this interpretation must be further examined.

The other presumably peripheral aspect of the town's economy which must be studied is gambling. Although there is

no cock pit in the town, gambling is apparently very popular and takes a variety of forms. One suspects it has been both the source and the destruction of more than one local fortune. Its nature, scale, and extent must be investigated to determine both its contributory and inhibiting effects on local economic development.

While an unusually high proportion of Estancia's population is in the poblacion, the majority still resides in the barrios. Any study of economic development in the town must include its effects on the barrios and the extent to which the town's development has depended upon human skills and material resources provided by them. Has commercial and productive development in the poblacion stimulated or drained comparable activity in the barrios? What effect has it had on barrio organizations or identity? Physical proximity to the poblacion and ownership of barrio lands by poblacion entrepreneurs are likely to be significant variables in these matters. Patterns of migration in and out of the barrios, their formal and informal organizations, and variations in general living standards over the past 20 years should provide clues.

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Among the fishing barrios, two that immediately flank the poblacion were small in 1948 (populations of 442 and 487) but have rapidly grown quite large (about 1,600 and 1,325, respectively, in 1966). These two may be compared with two other barrios which were comparably small in 1948 but have grown slowly since then. They can also be effectively compared with another fishing barrio whose population has long been relatively large and stable (1,030 persons in 1948, about 1,260 in 1966). The following table may make these potential comparisons clearer.

Estancia sample communities classified by relative size, cross-classified by population growth rate

Relative size (1948)	Population growth rate (1948-66)	
	Slow	Rapid
Large	One barrio	Poblacion
Small	Two barrios	Two barrios

Estancia seems to provide an almost ideal situation for analysing the preconditions, processes, and formal outcomes of economic growth in small fishing communities. The agricultural barrios appear almost equally promising for utilizing the

comparative approach to these problems. None can be considered very large, but they do seem to demonstrate highly differential rates of economic and demographic growth. The situation is ripe for following Eggan's recommendation (1954: 474):

. . . for the utilization of the comparative method on a small scale and with as much control over the frame of comparison as it is possible to secure. . . to utilize regions of relatively homogeneous culture or to work within social or cultural types, and to further control the ecological and historical factors so far as it is possible to do so.

Concomitant social change

Once we have completed this analysis of economic changes in Estancia's poblacion and barrios, we hope to face some more general problems concerning the relation of economic development to social change. Specifically, we will be interested in the extent to which the increasing general level of productivity and commercial activity alters traditional patterns of income distribution, social organization, and value patterns.

The problem of income distribution is crucial, for it determines the rapidity and extent to which increasing the total wealth of a community benefits its various members. In the

rice-to-sugar conversion area described above, there was no visible improvement in the economic resources of the field workers, despite the vastly increased income of the planters and millers. In that situation, wealth has remained concentrated in a few hands, and no share of the increased profits has reached the workers. The system of income distribution appears stable and so organized that the field hand receives sufficient income to survive, while the landowner keeps all the rest. In poor years the workers are assured of the minimum of subsistence, but in good years their gain is little.⁵

There is evidence that a similar situation exists in Estancia, for many share tenants and fishing boat crews are involved in a similar type of economic system. However, given the town's rapid growth and the number of independently owned commercial enterprises, the situation appears somewhat more open. The continually growing demand for fish has provided

⁵As mentioned earlier, this description is based on a relatively brief investigation of the situation. While we are confident of its general accuracy, we hope to substantiate it more fully in a similar rice-to-sugar transition area near our current research site.

many opportunities for even poor men to rise to the top of the economic ladder. The two most obvious avenues to economic success are in fishing and marketing or some combination of the two--although a few families have made their fortunes as suppliers to fishing outfits. Neither fishing nor marketing requires large initial capital outlays. A man willing to travel to interior towns can almost always sell fish there at a price somewhat higher than the market rate at Estancia. The difference minus transportation is his profit, and many such "buy-and-sell" distributors operate out of Estancia. They also may gain a small margin by buying fish directly from the fishing boats while still out at sea. The fishermen are often willing to give a good price to save themselves the trouble of marketing the fish personally. While the major volume of the fish marketed in Estancia does not pass through the hands of these small dealers, there clearly has been room in the interstices of the distribution network for a number of small fortunes to be made.

The other common means to new wealth in Estancia has been through the growth of new fishing outfits. Fishing requires a very small initial capital outlay. A banca, or outrigger canoe, costs little and with luck can provide a steady income.

Savings may permit a fisherman to purchase larger, more sophisticated boats, until he becomes the employer of one or more crews of fishermen. While luck, as well as skill and determination, unquestionably can contribute to the poor fisherman's economic success, several men in Estancia have proven the feasibility of this route to wealth. Unlike the land, no one owns the sea; it is an open resource for all to exploit. The son of a tenant farmer is fortunate if he has as much land to till as his father. Local land is all owned, and what little is sold demands a price far beyond his meager resources. The fisherman, on the other hand, has free access to the sea. And while fishing has its own special risks and does not produce wealthy men every day, the ultimate "democracy of the sea" provides a continuous economic opportunity, much less readily available to land oriented labor. It will be extremely interesting to discover if the commercial approach of the "buy-and-sell" merchant or the productive approach of the fisherman has contributed most to (1) the increase of total wealth in the town, and (2) widening the distribution of income among its residents.

The effect of increasing wealth on traditional modes of social organization also demands study. In traditional Visayan

communities a very small number of families often dominate local economic resources. Poorer individuals and families tend to develop long lasting dependency relationships towards one of them, if only to protect themselves in time of crisis or major need. Fox (1956) described this pattern in terms of the "patron-client relationship." In Estancia, with many independently wealthy families and individuals, we might expect people to be less rigid in their allegiances, willing and able to switch from one source of help to another. Thus along with--or thanks to--unusual opportunities for vertical mobility, Estancia may also be allowing a more than traditional amount of horizontal mobility as well. If so (and this remains to be seen), it may perhaps mean major changes in the traditional system, so prevalent in Visayan communities, of economic and ultimately social and political dependency on the wealthy elite.

Estancia also appears to present an ideal situation for testing a hypothesis concerning changes in traditional values. In traditional Visayan society an intelligent young man of ambition was likely to seek his fortune through essentially political means. If he involved himself directly in local politics this would mean attempting to organize people on whose allegiance he might

depend in political or social activities. This might require capital outlays on his part, but these would be compensated by the percentage of the local income he might accrue to himself via favors or fees for contracts received because of the substantial blocs of man power or votes he controlled. If, on the other hand, he wished to avoid the limelight, ownership of land and control of tenants would be the traditional means to success. As a landlord he would be entitled to his legitimate share of the crop, as well as to repayment and interest on sums provided the share tenants for their subsistence during the lean months before harvest. In either case, his primary concern would not be to increase total productivity, but simply to garner for himself an increasing proportion of what is already being produced. As politician or landlord, his approach is the "political" manipulation of a relatively fixed quantity of resources. This value on the "political" approach to wealth and power may well derive from the fact that prior to the advent of modern agricultural techniques, the produce of the land, the ultimate source of wealth, was reasonably stable. It varied more with acts of nature than acts of man. Wealth was not amassed by producing more on a given piece of land, but by gaining control of the

produce of increasing quantities of land.

If this hypothesis is correct (and it certainly requires confirmation), Estancia would appear to be an ideal place to study the transformation of values in a changing economic system. While it is possible to amass wealth in Estancia by gaining control over fishing boats or their catch, the nearly infinite resources of the sea permit--almost encourage--increasing total productivity, rather than simply increasing one's share of a fixed product. The owner of a small boat who works his way up to a large one or several, is catching and marketing more fish than when he started--and that, without impinging on anyone else's catch. Productivity can be effectively valued as a potential route to wealth, and concomitant power or social esteem. Until recently, only the sea with its communal ownership and almost endlessly expandable resources provided this sort of opportunity. Today, however, Estancia's experience may well prove relevant to more purely agricultural communities which as a result of modern scientific techniques are discovering the land to be potentially far more productive than ever before. If Estancia can clearly demonstrate a change in values from the traditional "political" to a more modern

"productive" approach to gaining wealth and social status, it may disclose the basis for transforming the Philippines' economic potential into a reality.

These at least are some of the approaches, questions, problems, and hypotheses we will be probing in Estancia during this year's research.

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DOCUMENT CONTROL DATA - R & D

1. Originating activity (corp. author) The Pennsylvania State University, contractor; The Ateneo de Manila (Philippines), subcontractor		2a. Security classification Unclassified
		2b. Group
3. Report title IMPACT OF MODERNIZATION IN THE PHILIPPINES		
4. Descriptive notes (type of report and inclusive dates) ONR Technical Report (July 1, 1966, to December 31, 1966)		
5. Author(s) (Last name, first name, initial) Guthrie, George M., and Lynch, Frank		
6. Report date January 1967	7a. Total no. of pages 136	7b. No. of refs. 51
8a. Contract or grant no. Nonr 656 (37) b-d.	9a. Originator's report number(s) Technical Report No. 1	
	9b. Other report number(s)	
10. Availability/limitation notices Distribution of this document is unlimited.		
11. Supplementary notes	12. Sponsoring military activity Group Psychology Branch, Office of Naval Research, Dept. of the Navy	
13. Abstract Three projects, all part of the Ateneo-Penn State Basic Research Program supported by ONR Contract Nonr 656 (37), are reported on. Project One, a study of thought categories among Tagalog mother-tongue speakers in and near Manila, draws heavily on the anthropological specialization known as ethnosience. In the period under review techniques were devised for eliciting responses in the cognitive domains of disease and kinship, and preliminary findings were made. Project Two, a study of conflicting legal concepts in a changing society, has reached some understanding of how traditional Tagalog norms for the use of space differ from modern Philippine law on the question. Project Three studies a booming fishing town in central Philippines. The report describes this town and suggests how the nature of the changes occurring there may be clarified and explained.		

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14. Key Words	Link A		Link B		Link C	
	Role	Wt	Role	Wt	Role	Wt
ethnoscience cognitive mapping psycholinguistics communications modernization folk medicine anthropology of law social change cultural change economic anthropology economic development						